

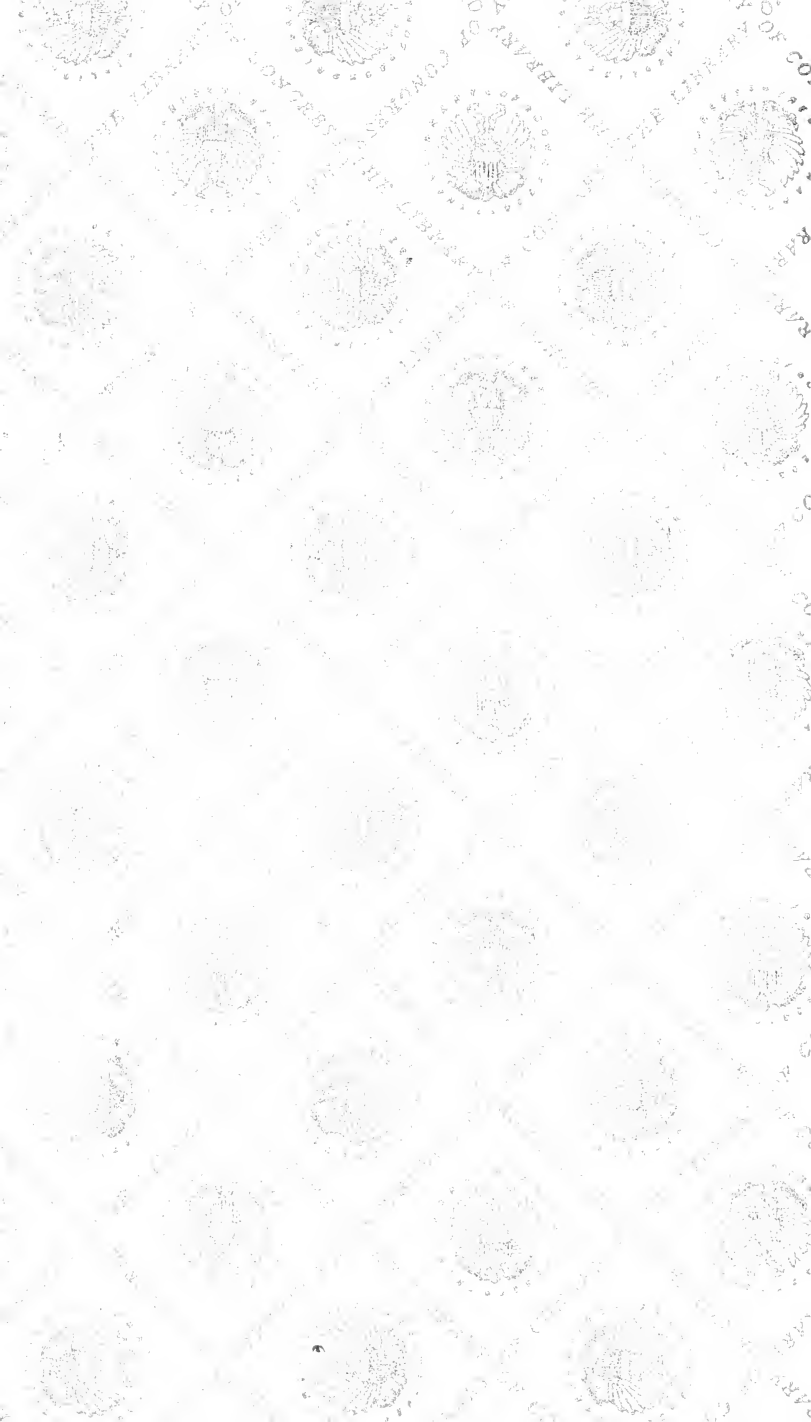
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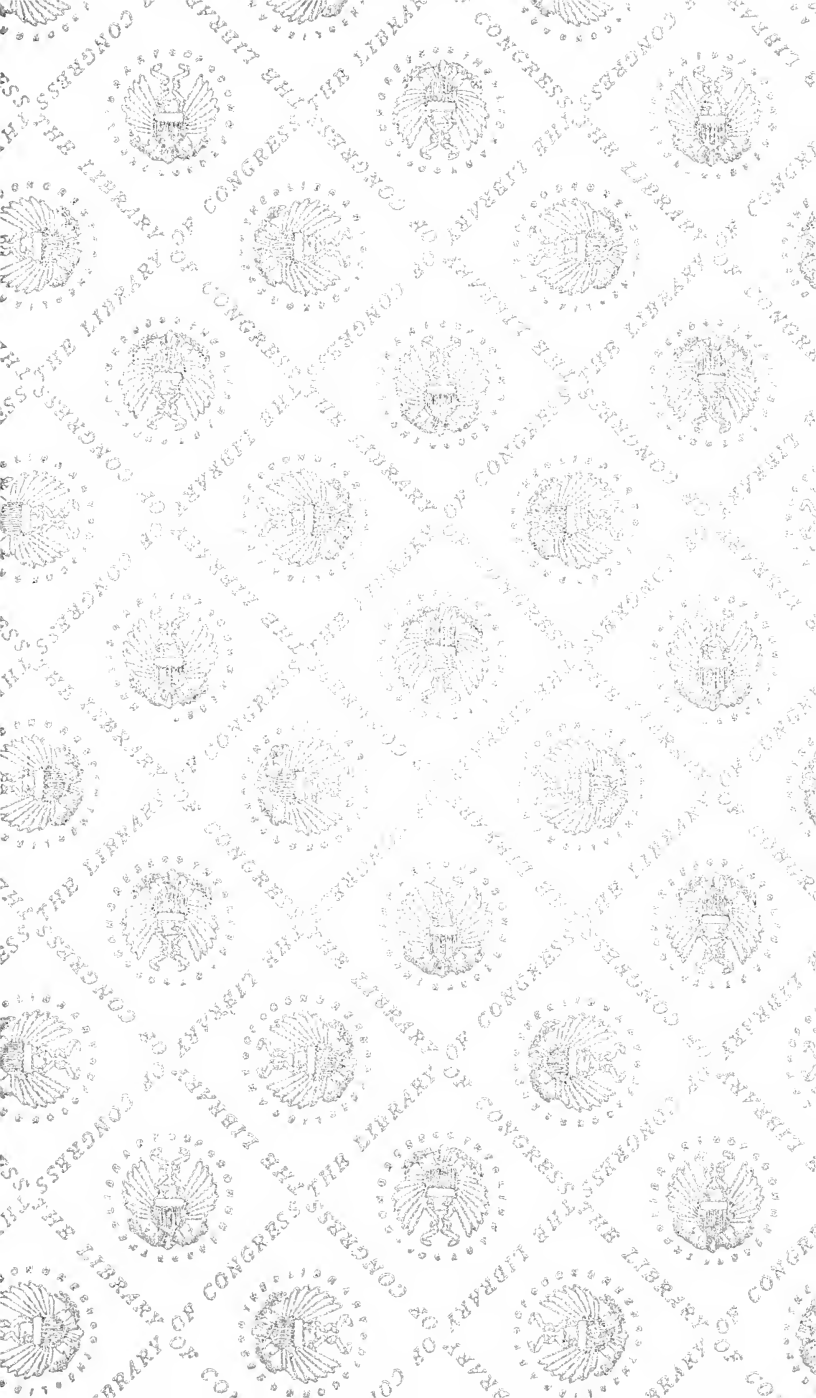
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FORMATION

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY

A meeting of the friends of the slave was holden at the Marlboro' Hotel, on Monday, May 27, 1839, at 3 o'clock, P. M. to take into consideration the present state of the anti-slavery cause, as carried on by the present organization in the State; and also to hear and act upon the report of a Committee chosen at a preliminary meeting, to draft a constitution.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Rev. D. S. KING of Boston, Chairman, and J. W. ALDEN of Cambridgeport, Secretary, and was opened with prayer, by Rev. C. T. TORREY of Salem.

After some consultation in regard to the formation of another State anti-slavery society, on the original basis of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from which the present State society is believed to have widely and fundamentally departed, it was unanimously

Voted, That this meeting now proceed to the organization of a new State Anti-Slavery Society.

Voted, That the Report of the Rev. A. A. PHELPS be accepted, and that the Preamble and Constitution presented by him, be now read and acted on in its parts. .

The following Preamble and Constitution as amended, were then unanimously adopted:

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.*

Whereas the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas our national existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, in the face of this solemn avowal before Almighty God and the world, and in violation of the principles of natural justice, of righteous government, and of the Christian religion, nearly one sixth part of this nation are held in bondage by their fellow countrymen; and whereas we regard such

*The name of the society, as at first adopted, was the "Massachusetts State Anti-Slavery Society;" the word "State," being inserted to distinguish it from the old society. It was subsequently changed by the Committee authorized to do it, if they thought it advisable, as will be seen by the records.

slavery as destructive to the prosperity, peace, union, and liberties of the entire country and of the several States, and believe that righteousness alone can exalt this nation, that the command of Jehovah, to "execute judgment," and by righteous law, as well as other means, "deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor," is binding on us as a people, and therefore, that "there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting on the people of the free," as well as the slave "states, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the constitution of the United States," and of the several States; and whereas we believe it the duty and the interest of the masters, immediately to emancipate their slaves without expatriation, and that no scheme of colonization, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil, and that we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, to immutable justice, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about its utter extinction, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society for this purpose, to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

Article I. This society shall be called the Massachusetts Abolition Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Art. II. The doctrines of this society are summarily set forth in the preamble to this constitution. Its objects are the entire abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the United States, and the elevation of the character and condition of the people of color, and their admission to equal religious, civil, and political rights and privileges with the whites. It will endeavor to effect these objects by the use of all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion. It will aim, through the agency of the living speaker and of the press, to convince all our fellow citizens of the correctness of its doctrines and the propriety and justice of its objects. It will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may hereafter be admitted to the Union.

Art. III. Any person who consents to the principles of this constitution, is in favor of its objects and measures, and is not a slaveholder, may become a member of this society by signing its constitution and contributing to its funds. Any person may become a life member by the contribution, at one time, of *Ten Dollars*, or two dollars annually. And Life Members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the society.

Art. IV. The officers of the society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above, and not less than ten other members of the society.

Art. V. The Board of Managers shall annually elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than five, nor more than twelve members, which shall be located in Boston, who shall have power to enact their own bye laws, fill any vacancy in their body and in the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, employ agents, determine what compensation shall be paid to Agents and Secretaries, direct the Treasurer in the application of all monies, and call special meetings of the society. They shall make arrangements for all meetings of the society, make

an annual written report of their doings, the income, expenditures, and funds of the society, and shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power to advance the objects of the society.

Art. VI. The President shall preside at all meetings of the society, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence, a President pro tem. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account, to accompany the annual report.

Art. VII. The society shall hold an annual public meeting each year at Boston, on the Tuesday next preceding the last Wednesday in May, when an abstract of the annual report shall be read, and addresses delivered. It shall hold its annual meeting for the choice of officers, the acceptance of the report, and the transaction of other business, on the same or succeeding day, at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee.

Art. VIII. Any Anti-Slavery Society founded on the same principles and for the same objects, may become auxiliary to this society, and be entitled to a representation at its meetings, of one for every twenty-five members, provided, however, that every society shall be entitled to send at least one delegate.

Art. IX. The business of the society shall be transacted in meetings constituted, *first*, of the officers and agents of the society; and *second*, of such gentlemen as may be sent as delegates from auxiliary societies.

Art. X. This constitution may be amended, at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed have been previously submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee.

Voted, That a committee of six be appointed to nominate officers for this society, and report at a subsequent meeting. A. A. Phelps, J. F. Fuller, D. S. King, Geo. Russell, H. M. Chamberlain, and J. W. Alden.

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed to engross the preamble and constitution, and present the same for signatures at a subsequent meeting. A. A. Phelps, D. Wise, and H. M. Chamberlain.

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed to call a meeting forthwith, of all persons in favor of a new organization, for the purpose of completing it. C. T. Torrey, J. F. Fuller, and J. W. Alden. Adjourned to meet at the call of the committee.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

In pursuance of public notice, by the committee chosen for the purpose, a meeting was held at the Marlboro' Chapel, Hall No. 1, on Wednesday, May 29, 1839, at 9 o'clock A. M. The meeting was called to order by the chairman, Rev. D. S. King of Boston, and opened with prayer by Rev. David Brigham of Framingham.

The proceedings of the former meeting, and the constitution as then adopted, were read by the Secretary, after which a statement of reasons for a new organization, and the manner of effecting it, were made by Rev. C. T. Torrey of Salem, followed with explanations of the constitution, by Rev. A. A. Phelps of Boston.

On motion of A. A. Phelps, Voted that a committee of nine be ap-

pointed by the chair, to take the names of all persons present, who wish to subscribe to the constitution. The chair appointed J. E. Fuller, J. S. Kimball, D. Wise, W. C. Brown, Geo. Russell, J. Brackett, J. H. Eayrs, H. Brown, and A. St. Clair.

It was then stated that after the names had been taken, the constitution would be open to any amendments proposed by such persons, and the Society be organized by the choice of officers. While the committee were taking the names, several gentlemen present addressed the meeting, with great interest and effect. A letter was also read from Rev. O. Scott, who was prevented from attending the meeting by sickness, highly approving of a new organization.

More than one hundred and fifty persons, from *seventy-five different towns*, enrolled their names.

On motion of A. A. Phelps, *Voted* that the names of such as are in favor of a new society, having been taken, we now proceed to complete its organization.

Rev. C. T. Torrey of Salem offered the following amendments, to add to the article on membership; "or two dollars annually;" and "Life members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society."

Voted, To refer the amendments to a committee of three to consider and report. Messrs. Charles Tappan, Geo. Allen, and A. A. Phelps, committee.

Several individuals suggested an alteration of the name of the Society, and on motion

Voted, To refer the subject to the committee on amendments, with power to change it if they think best.

On motion of C. T. Torrey, *Voted*, That we now proceed to hear the report of the committee, chosen at the former meeting to nominate officers.

The committee, by their chairman, made report, when the following gentlemen were chosen as officers of the society for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT.

WM. B. DODGE, of Salem.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

ESSEX COUNTY	Ingalls Kittredge, M. D., Beverly. Gilman Parker, Esq., Haverhill. Rev. Benjamin Drew, Jr., Andover. Leonard Gott, M. D., Sandy Bay. Col. Jesse Putnam, Danvers.
MIDDLESEX COUNTY . .	Hon. Wm. Jackson, Newton. Rev. Orange Scott, Lowell. Rev. Jotham Horton, " Rev. J. W. Cross, Boxboro'. Serenio Fisk, Esq., Billerica. Dexter Fairbank, Cambridgeport.
SUFFOLK COUNTY . . .	Rev. D. S. King, Boston. James C. Odiorne, " William Carleton, " J. H. Eayrs, "
WORCESTER COUNTY .	Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, Worcester. T. W. Ward, Esq., Shrewsbury. Rev. George Goodyear, Ashburnham. Rev. George Waters, Sterling.

FRANKLIN COUNTY . .	Hon. Wm. Whittaker, New Salem. Rev. Samuel Ware, South Deerfield. Jasper Bement, Ashfield.
HAMPDEN COUNTY . .	Samuel Osgood, D. D., Springfield. Hon. Abel Bliss, Wilbraham.
HAMPSHIRE COUNTY .	Wm. H. Stoddard, Northampton. Gardiner Dorrance, M. D., Amherst.
BERKSHIRE COUNTY . .	James W. Robbins, Esq., Lenox. Rev. Joseph Hurlbert, Curtisville. Rev. Harper Boies, Dalton.
NORFOLK COUNTY . . .	Rev. Jacob Ide, D. D., West Medway. Dea. J. Newcomb, Braintree. Gen Appleton Howe, Weymouth.
BRISTOL COUNTY . . .	Wm. Reed, Esq., Taunton. C. C. Nichols, Freetown. Rev. John Allen, Seekonk. Gilbert H. Durfee, Fall River.
PLYMOUTH COUNTY . .	Moreton Eddy, Esq., South Bridgewater. Jesse Perkins, Esq., North Bridgewater. Rev. E. D. Moore, Kingston.
DUKES' COUNTY	Rev. James H. Thomas, Edgartown.
BARNSTABLE COUNTY .	Rev. Joseph Mash, Sandwich.

Elizur Wright, Jr., Boston, *Corresponding Secretary*.
 Amos A. Phelps, " *Recording* "
 Josiah Brackett, " *Treasurer*.
 B. H. Barnes, Esq., " *Auditor*.

MANAGERS.

Charles Tappan, Esq., Boston.	H. M. Chamberlain, Esq., Cambridgeport.
Thomas Gould, Esq., " "	J. W. Alden, " "
John E. Fuller, " "	Rev. Timothy Merritt, Lynn.
Alanson St. Clair, " "	Wm. C. Brown, Chelsea.
Rev. C. T. Torrey, Salem.	Rev. George Allen, Shrewsbury.

The President took the chair. C. T. Torrey of Salem presented the following resolutions, which were taken up separately and unanimously adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That in forming a new State Anti-Slavery organization, we solemnly disclaim any sectarian or party political objects. Our aims are, to promote in all lawful, constitutional, moral and Christian ways, the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in our land, and to secure for our beloved brethren, both bond and free, the enjoyment of all their rights as men, and as members of society, on the same terms on which these rights are accorded to men of a different complexion. And to attain these ends, we deem it necessary to present our cause before the community, on its merits; unconnected either in form or in fact, with those sectarian and local or personal objects, which have been *recently*, to so great extent, in this state, identified with it.

2. *Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare and issue at an early day an address to the public, setting forth our objects and reasons for separate action, and inviting the co-operation of all who love the cause of enslaved humanity, and that the same be published in the papers, and in pamphlet form, together with

a list of the officers of the society, and an account of the proceedings at its formation.

3. *Resolved*, That the committee be instructed to take immediate measures to procure an office for the transaction of its business, connected, if possible, with an Anti-Slavery reading room, and a depository for the sale of Anti-Slavery publications.

4. *Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to invite the American A. S. Society to send into this state such of its agents as will co-operate with this society in raising funds, and in other measures to promote the cause of the slave within our limits.

5. *Resolved*, That said committee be authorized to make such arrangements with the committee of the National Society, in regard to the amount of funds to be pledged by this society to that, as shall be mutually satisfactory.

6. *Resolved*, That the committee be instructed to make the improvement of the free people of color, in this their native country, a special department of their labors; and to this end, that they be authorized to engage the services of some suitable person, a colored brother, if possible, who shall keep an intelligence office for the especial benefit of colored youth who may desire places in business; aid in the establishment of schools and moral and literary societies among them; the collection and transmission of funds for the support of schools among the fugitives in Canada; and in other suitable ways, labor for the moral and intellectual benefit of our colored brethren.

The meeting then adjourned, sine die.

Attest,

J. W. ALDEN, Sec'y.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Board of Managers subsequently met and made choice of an Executive Committee, which is as follows:—

Josiah Brackett,	Alanson St. Clair.
Nathaniel Colver.	Dexter Fairbank.
D. S. King.	John E. Fuller.
James Porter.	J. W. Alden.
Elizur Wright, Jr.	Thomas Gould, Esq.

ADDRESS

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Fellow Citizens :

In appearing before you, as the organ of a new association for the benefit of the colored population of our country, we wish to invite your attention to a succinct statement of our principles and objects, together with the reasons which have led us to separate from those with whom we once rejoiced to co-operate, in our efforts to rescue humanity from the grasp of oppression, and liberty from the encroachments of despotic power.

ORIGINAL VIEWS AND AIMS.

Recal to your minds the views and aims with which we entered upon our labors of love. Ten years since, more than two millions of

our countrymen, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, natives of our soil, and heirs with us to the common rights of humanity, were held in unrequited bondage; their wrongs almost forgotten, their wretchedness almost unpitied, by the free. Here and there an individual told the story of their wrongs in the ears of an incredulous community, and plead for justice to the poor. But the heart of the nation was not reached. If the tide of Christian sympathy flowed forth at all, political and religious influences combined to direct it into the delusive channel of colonization on a heathen shore. More than 350,000 nominally free men of color, scattered over the free and slave states, were victims also to the spirit of slavery, and of American caste, (more wicked than that of Hindoostan,) denied the exercise of their acknowledged rights, and excluded from the common courtesies of life, and the privileges of society. Awakened, in the Providence of God, to the consideration of the claims of these our brethren, we were soon convinced that to hold or use a human being, a rational, immortal mind, as an article of property, to degrade accountability and immortality to a level with mere brute and inanimate existence, must be always and every where a sin in the sight of the Holy Creator; a violation of his universal law of love, and consequently a robbery, both of his rights as Sovereign, and of man's rights as the subjects of His government. It required but little knowledge of the nature of man, and a slight examination of the facts, as taught by history and observation, to see that the lot of the slave *must* be full of bitterness and woe. Not a wrong ever done to man but would find its logical justification in the principle, which is the foundation and life of slavery, viz., *treating man as property*. The withholding of civil and political rights, the keeping back of the hire of the laborer, the use of the whip and chain to extort labor from unwilling hands, the rejection of his testimony in the courts of justice against his oppressor, the destruction of the sacredness of the marriage tie, and with it *the disregard* of all the endearing relations of life, and the consequent brutality and lewdness, the deprivation of the means of intellectual instruction, the annihilation of the rights of conscience, and the sealing up of the light from heaven which beams from the pages of Holy Writ, all these are the logical and natural fruits of the principle on which the slave is deprived of his manhood. As humane and Christian men we believed we were called to lay the axe at the root of this foul system, and labor with all our strength for its immediate and utter overthrow.

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM AT WAR.

We were alarmed, moreover, at the influence we found slavery exerting upon the cause of universal liberty; *its power in maintaining that system of caste* which crushes the free man of color even in those states where slavery does not exist; *its control over the legislation of the country*, manifest in the enactments unfavorable to liberty in the free states; in the commercial and financial policy of the nation, ever changing to cater to its interests; and in the successive admission of seven new slave states into the federal union: *its destruction of the freedom of speech and of the press*, (the great safeguards of liberty,) on every subject connected with its own existence, throughout the south, and to a great extent in the north, as seen in the thousand mobs, the action of the ecclesiastical and legislative bodies, the murder of Lovejoy and other like events; and its *gradual corruption of private opinion* and sentiments in reference to human rights, and the enforcement of righteous laws; *all these* united to enkindle in our bosoms a patriot's zeal, and to arouse a patriot's fears, lest the lamp of freedom should be extinguished in our land, and with it the hope

of millions in other climes who rejoiced in its light; with these things before us, we remembered and felt our obligations as citizens, to exert the powers entrusted to us, and secured by our constitution and laws, to overthrow that system which thus made war upon American liberty, the hope of suffering millions.

SLAVERY AT WAR WITH RELIGION.

Slavery too, we found, had to a fearful extent corrupted the churches of the living God, and entrenched itself within the sacred enclosures of the altars of religion. Members and ministers of all the great denominations of Christians in our land, not only apologized for or defended slavery, but actually owned human chattels, and bought and sold the purchase of the Redeemer's blood in the shambles! While few of their fellow disciples rebuked their wickedness, and almost none excluded them from their Christian fellowship. When we saw these things, and then thought of the slave, robbed of his birthrights, of the word of God, and of access to every minister of Christ who would not, *by his silence, at least*, connive at his oppression, we could not refrain from lifting up our voices, to plead with God and man, to arise and destroy a system so utterly hostile to Christian freedom, and to religion itself. We felt that the principles of natural justice, the preservation of civil liberty, the voice of humanity, and the purity of the gospel, alike demanded the immediate freedom of the slave, upon the soil where God gave him his birth and a dwelling place.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

That we were bound to labor for the deliverance of the enslaved was evident. Humanity plead for it, reason, justice, conscience, God himself, commanded us to open our mouths for the dumb, and plead the cause of the helpless poor. But how could we act most wisely and efficiently for their redemption? Should the cause be left to the energy of individual minds? the benevolence of individual hearts? Entrenched within the enclosures of the church, supported by the commercial and social influence, and defended by the political power of the nation, we believed slavery would mock at the power of individual mind, and care for its efforts as little as for the sighs and tears of its victims. And what, we ask, would call forth individual exertion, and give it direction, and cause its voice to be heard, when the pulpit, the senate house, and the press, alike forbade its utterance. Experience too, proved the power of associated action, in the *then certain*, and now completed redemption of 800,000 slaves under kingly rule, and in the gigantic efforts made within the last fifty years to diffuse the gospel *and reform society, in every part* of the world. We felt that the *combined* influence of all who cared for rational liberty and pure religion, would hardly be sufficient to breast the tide of opposition, and roll back its waves, and thus give individuals an *opportunity* for efficient action in behalf of liberty. Nothing else would break down the barriers of political partizanship, purify the source of political power, and unite the good and the true of every party in favor of liberty to the enslaved.

PRINCIPLES OF ASSOCIATION.

Accordingly we united, most of us in the early, some of us in the first of the associations, formed on the principle of immediate emancipation, for the overthrow of slavery and caste. We set before the public expositions of our doctrines, and of the measures by which we hoped to give them power over the mind and will of the people. We held slave holding to be uniformly sinful; emancipation the duty of the master, the right of the slave, and the highest interest of both; efforts

to secure emancipation obligatory upon every man, and especially upon northern freemen and Christians, and the exertion of all our moral, social, political and religious influence, an indispensable duty, if we would not prove that neither love to God or man held any place in our heart. The measures we contemplated were (1) the publication of the truth, by the pulpit, public lectures and debates, and the press; (2) the promotion of ecclesiastical action by the expression of our views, and the exertion of our influence and votes as members of religious bodies; (3) political action, including petitions, and the exercise of the elective franchise, and such other means as should secure the appropriate action of the legislative bodies. Unity in respect of these doctrines and measures, we deemed essential to hearty co-operation and final success. Indeed, unity of views and measures, in reference to the attainment of any given end, is vital to the integrity of an association for that end. If a single principle or measure considered necessary to success is given up, or a single new feature introduced, except by unanimous consent, the bond of union is dissolved. No harmony of action can be otherwise secured; nor can good faith towards the individual members of the body, or to the community, be otherwise observed. Uncompromising adherence to the foundation principles and measures of the body, or open and honest efforts to change them, or if not successful, and the principles in question are matters of conscience, secession from the body, are the only honorable alternatives left to individual members.

CAUSES OF DIVISION.

We now come to those causes of division which have led to the organization of the MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY. Adhering, heartily and conscientiously, to all the original principles and measures of our cause, we have witnessed, with grief unspeakable, the perversion, in this state, of our associations to purposes and objects not contemplated in our bond of union, foreign to our original objects, not necessary to their attainment, and in the view of the reflecting, fatal to our prospects of ultimate success.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

The first of these, in the order of time, as it respects its introduction into our cause, is what is technically called the "Women's Rights question"—or the question whether, as a matter of right, females should exercise all the social, political, and religious rights, discharge all the corresponding duties, and be subject to all the connected liabilities attached to them, equally with the other sex. (1) What, we would ask, has this question to do with the deliverance of the bond-slaves of our country? unless it be, indeed, necessary to take free woman out of the sphere in which she has moved in all ages and in every clime, in order to enlist her warm heart and quick sympathies in behalf of her sisters, and their helpless little ones in bondage! We do not believe it. We cannot so belie our knowledge of the noblest hearts that beat responsive to the call of mercy for the down-trodden. (2) But many of our coadjutors consider the contemplated change in the sphere of female action, a moral wrong: a thing forbidden alike by the word of God, the dictates of right reason, the voice of wisdom, and the modesty of unperverted nature. Whether they are right or wrong in these views, we do not decide. But we affirm that to identify our cause with the opposite views, is a violation of good faith; such as might justly impair the public confidence in our integrity, and multiply hindrances to the eventual success of our efforts.

(3) Such an identification, in the present state of the public mind

Let us try to translate this into plain English—into *common sense* it will not come.

“We are very far from saying that it is your duty, or even right for you if you think it so, to go to the polls and give your countenance to a human government; but if you *will* go at other times, your abolitionism is violated if you *purposely* absent yourselves when work is to be done for the slave. If you are indifferent about politics, you may stay away by accident. We object to nothing but “purposely,” excepting the slave from the benefit of your suffrage provided you *must* give it.”

Compare this with any one of the resolves before quoted, and say, if here is not a suppression of impartial truth, at the bidding of sect—say if there is not too much evidence that the ‘glory’ of true integrity did indeed depart, when it was adopted. The subjoined extract from the Annual Report adopted at the same meeting, is in keeping with the resolve above quoted, and with the general tone of the Report, and the speeches made in favor of its adoption.

“If any attempt be made, directly or indirectly, (as is strenuously advised by certain abolitionists,) to declare that it is the duty of all abolitionists to go to the ballot-box, then it follows that those who think otherwise must be treated as recreant to duty. The Board deny that it is competent for any anti-slavery society, by its votes or through its organ, to arraign either the political or religious views of its members. *It may with no more propriety decide, that one man is morally bound to cast a vote at the polls, than that another man is morally bound to unite himself to the church.* On this subject, there are many conflicting but honest opinions entertained by abolitionists. All that a society or its organ may rightfully do, is to *entreat* its members to *abide by their principles*, [good or bad?] *whether in the church or out of it, at the polls or elsewhere; to vote for no man, who is not in favor of immediate emancipation; to listen to no preacher, who apologises for slavery.*”

This is saying, in almost so many words, that every A. S. Society is of course a no-human-government society. For even such a society may “entreat” men to obey the voice of conscience—to act in consistency with “their principles.” But this in thousands of instances would be bidding men to sin. Are not many slaveholders professedly conscientious in holding slaves. Are they “entreated” to abide by their principles, whether in the church or out of it?” The voice of God’s truth is, See that you have a *good* conscience and *right* principles, and then obey them. Excuse not wrong doing with the plea of conscience or consistency. If it be a duty to go to the polls, for the redemption of the slave, *say so*. If it be not, then warn every man against it, with a voice of thunder. Considered in this, which we are persuaded is the true view of the subject, the resolve alluded to is thorough non-governmentism; and its adoption, under the circumstances, was to all practical purposes, the adoption of non-governmentism by the society. A resolution is presented affirming the old anti-slavery doctrine, that the use of the elective franchise for the slave is duty. Non-governmentism opposes it and offers a substitute. The society yields, refuses to affirm its doctrine of duty and adopts the non-government one of consistency. What, under such circumstances, is refusal to affirm, but denial of the doctrine? What, but a “repudiation of human politics” in the case, and a shaping of abolition in conformity with that model? What but the adoption of a non-political, non-government abolition?

The attempt to secure the passage of a similar resolution at the quarterly meeting of the Essex Co. A. S. Society in Wenham, March 14th, 1839, was defeated, by a tie vote, after a long discussion, the agents of the state society strenuously advocating the measure.

The following resolve was presented, and the amendment which follows it proposed.

“Resolved, that any man, who, at this fearful crisis, (provided he can conscientiously exercise the elective franchise) will either stay away from the ballot-box, or throw a vote for any person not in favor of the immediate abolition of this giant enemy of the human race, grossly neglects an imperious duty and takes sides with the slaveholders.”


Amendment. "That any man who *deems* it his duty to exercise his elective franchise, and at this fearful crisis refuses to carry his abolition to the ballot-box, is recreant to his principles and in effect takes sides with the slaveholder."

At the late annual meeting of this same society, it was assimilated in that respect, and likewise in respect to the "woman question," to the State Society.

A minor auxiliary of that society, in West Gloucester, passed the following, April 4th, 1839. It is sufficient to say that it is composed chiefly of those who "repudiate all human politics."

"Resolved, that we view with alarm the doctrine advanced by some, that it is a Christian duty to go to the polls and vote. We think those principles, carried out, would oblige us to equip ourselves and go to the South and fight until slavery should be abolished.

"Resolved, That we view with regret the spirit manifested by some of our brethren, and hope they will in future content themselves to leave matters of conscience to an unerring power, lest they be found fighting against God."

At the annual meeting of the American Society, the passage of the resolve, affirming the duty (see Note B.) of political action, was resisted, by the officers and agents of the Mass. A. S. Society, with scarcely an exception; and a non-government resolution urged in its stead. This was cut off by the previous question, and that which reasserted the old abolition doctrine passed—a majority of the votes thrown against it were from this state. Since the meeting in New York, the Board of Managers of the state society have issued an address to the abolitionists of the state on this subject. The object of it would seem to be to retrace their steps, or at least to deny having lent their sanction as a society or board to the non-government theories. To prove this, they quote from their Address on Political Action issued in August, 1838; and then say "these passages [for which see Note B] continue to express the views of a great majority of the Board;" and in regard to the society, they "doubt whether one hundredth part of its members entertain" the non-government views. This at first sight looks well. A careful examination of it, however, will present us with a very different result. In August, 1838, the question before the public generally, and the abolition public in particular, was, what is *anti-slavery doctrine* on the subject of political action? It was not, what is the doctrine of this individual, or that individual, or of any number of individuals, but what is the *abolition* doctrine? What is the doctrine of the society as such? The Board of Managers of the Mass. A. S. Society stepped forth to answer the question. This they did, not as expositors of their views as individuals, or of the views of others as individuals, but as a Board of Managers, the organ of the society, the expositors of its doctrines, the interpreter of its constitution. And their answer went forth to the public, and was received by the public, as an official exposition of *anti-slavery doctrine, as such*. They spoke and were understood to speak, not for themselves but for the society, and as the official interpreters of *acknowledged and constitutional abolitionism*. Such was their position then. But now, alas, they speak for individuals only. True, a majority of their number hold the same views of the duty of voting they did then, but  "they consider it rather a duty growing out of OUR GENERAL OBLIGATIONS AS MEN, than as enjoined in our anti-slavery constitution." They no longer hold these views then as abolitionists; nor do they urge them as any part of abolition. They may or may not do it as individuals, but the society, as such, and they as its organ, have no doctrine on the subject. Such is their present position. What then is this, their last public official act, but an official abandonment of anti-slavery doctrine on the subject, and an official shaping of abolition to the model of non-governmentism?

Is then the old pioneer society fallen? Fallen it is indeed, but we would hope it may rise again, and be clothed with strength, to plead for justice and judgment in behalf of the bondman. At present, it has thrown away its principles, and with them, the staff of its power.

no new measure on this subject. We stand just where the National and State Societies have all *heretofore* stood; not excepting even the society in this State; and where they all *now* stand, with the exception named.

By a reference to the documents annexed, (See appendix B.) it will be seen that political action was originally laid down as an anti-slavery duty, and measure—that the duty of acting politically, as well as morally, has ever been avowed by the early and tried advocates of our cause, such as Lundy, Garrison, Stanton, Goodell, and Birney; by the American and State Societies, and especially by the Massachusetts Society and its county auxiliaries. The resolves, too, of special conventions, called in reference to this very subject, may be quoted as unquestioned evidence of the anti-slavery doctrine in relation to it, as held by the friends of the slave universally. The mass of evidence on the point, of which we give but a part, is truly surprising. Peruse it with attention; and we think it will appear evident that those who now “repudiate,” or even look coldly upon political action have abandoned, on this subject, the original doctrines and measures of our associations.

NO HUMAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS.

Recently, some of our brethren have matured certain views, new to them, perhaps, on the subject of human governments. They hold, in substance, that the desire of power is the essence of tyranny and slavery, and that all government of man over man is sinful, and that no man can do an act, or sanction a sentiment, which recognizes allegiance to any human government, or recognizes our duties as citizens under them, without sin; rebellion against the government of God.—This is not the place to discuss these views. It is enough here to say that they stand in direct contrariety to the leading measure originally proposed by the anti-slavery societies, and if acted upon by the mass of abolitionists, the slave is left to hopeless and interminable bondage. The Massachusetts Society, at its annual meeting, refused to pass a resolve, asserting, in the most guarded manner, its original, and till then unquestioned principles, on the subject of political action; and in its place adopted one which was a distinct and deliberate sacrifice of principles to the sectarian dogmas just alluded to.* The attempt, made chiefly by the officers and some of the leading members of the Mass. A. S. Society, to secure a similar sacrifice of principle at the annual meeting of the Am. A. S. Society, was defeated. Similar efforts, however, have succeeded in the meetings of some of its own auxiliaries. The State Society is now (see appendix C.) fully identified with the sectarian views of a few of its individual members. That the abolitionists of the Commonwealth generally, sanction these proceedings, we have never believed. Nor do we question that they will come forward promptly to co-operate with us, in an association where the cause of the slave shall not only be paramount to every thing else, but the only object of its associated action.

MODE OF ORGANIZATION.

The Massachusetts Abolition Society was organized after such consultation with the friends of the measure as were readily accessible, selecting that mode of organization which best united promptness with deliberation. Time, indeed, did not allow the calling together of a special convention for the purpose; and the assemblage of hundreds of our friends from every part of the State to attend the religious anniversaries rendered it needless.

* See Appendix, Note E.

BUSINESS MEETINGS.

By an examination of our constitution, it will be seen that no change in principles or measures is contemplated. We shall seek to promote original abolitionism in its purity, and subduing power. We have, however, availed ourselves of the opportunity to guard against a defect in the former organization, in regard to the composition of its business meetings. The society will hold its anniversary for the reading of its report and addresses, in May, in connection with other benevolent societies. The transaction of its business will be confined to meetings composed of its officers and agents, and such a delegation as will secure an adequate and equitable representation from every auxiliary. The provision on this subject is the same in principle as that regulating the ratio of representation in the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth. We doubt not it will commend itself to all; especially to all who have witnessed the operation of the old method of representation, and the disgraceful scenes that have, on some recent occasions, grown out of it.

PLANS AND PROSPECTS.

Relying upon, and humbly imploring divine aid and guidance, we shall go forward and do what in us lies, to redeem the slave from his house of bondage. We have already appointed several able agents, and design to employ others, to lecture, collect funds, distribute publications, establish libraries, and in every appropriate way to promote the cause of the slave. Special attention, also, will be paid to the claims of our free colored brethren. We sympathize with their peculiar trials. The laws which degrade them, and the spirit of caste which would drive them from their native land, we shall labor with zeal to overthrow.

We solicit the cooperation of all who are ready to avow our principles, and who consent to our measures, as specified in our constitution. Let our friends promptly fill our treasury with the requisite funds, that we may not lack the means of efficient action. We look for a union of all whose hearts beat quick with sympathy for the oppressed, in our labors of love. We feel assured of the support of a generous community; and to its prompt and efficient aid we appeal. Every reason that called for our associated efforts at first, renders them even more imperative now. And new reasons continually rise to urge us on in the conflict with despotism, till the victory is won.

Having assigned our reasons for separate action, our object will be the freedom of the slave; not conflict with the old society. We shall avoid such conflict just so far as fidelity to the slave, and the rights of the free, will permit. Still less shall we be turned from our purpose to engage in mere personal controversy. We trust that many of our esteemed brethren, who now act with the old society, and lend their sanction to its unwise proceedings, will, ere long, see their error.—Meanwhile, we bid them God speed in every wise effort to break the fetters of the slave, and pray that they may be led into the path of duty.

CONCLUSION.

Fellow Citizens:

How long shall the slave groan and bleed in his fetters? Will not his blood—our *brother's blood*—cry to heaven from the ground (tilled by his unpaid labor), against us, unless we arise, in the strength of God, and do all in our power to deliver him; and to wipe out this blot upon the freedom, the humanity, and the Christianity of our common country? Let us not think to escape from our responsibilities as men, and as Christians. We cannot do it. In the final review of our con-

duct by the Judge of all, we must meet the claims of the poor, the fatherless, the widow, the oppressed, and him that hath no helper.— And if we fail to employ our social and religious influence, and our political power, in whatever station God has placed us, for the deliverance of the poor and needy, shall we meet his smiles? Will he not say, rather, “Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me?” Let us awake to our duty and quit ourselves like men.

We are yours, for the slave,

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. B. DODGE, *President.*

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., *Cor. Sec.*

A. A. PHELPS, *Rec. Sec.*

A P P E N D I X .

NOTE A.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

The history of the introduction of the 'woman question' into our meetings, may be told in a few sentences. It is said in the text, to be a novelty, not contemplated originally by any one, neither by its present opposers, nor by its friends. The following documents are a sample of the proof of this assertion.

(1) AMERICAN SOCIETY.

At the formation of the American A. S. Society, in Dec. 1833, on motion of Samuel Joseph May, it was

"Resolved, That all delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies, and all persons present who agree in principle with them on the subject of the immediate emancipation of slaves without expatriation, be entitled to seats in this convention."

It should be remarked that there were Female A. S. Societies then in existence; but none sent any delegates. The propriety of their doing so had never been advocated by any one. Women, too, were present, who agreed in sentiment with the present "women's rights" party. But not one offered to enrol her name as a member of the convention, under the above comprehensive invitation. All the members of the Convention signed the Declaration of Sentiments,—no woman's name is found there; and although two of the ladies present made a few suggestions, they did so *not as members of the Convention* or as a matter either of claimed or acknowledged right, but at their request, and as a matter of courtesy. They were merely spectators, and seemed to take it for granted that their sectarian peculiarities were not to be connected with the Anti-Slavery cause. The Society, after its formation, passed resolves in favor of the organization of distinct Societies for the female sex.

(2) N. E. A. S. SOCIETY.

No females were ever enrolled as active members (in the sense now claimed) of, or delegates to the NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. None took part in the formation of it. No female ever took a part in the public exercises of the MASS. A. S. SOCIETY (which succeeded to the N. E. Society,) until January, 1839. None had so far forgotten to respect the views of the other members of the Society. There was no disposition on their part, or on the part of others, to put them forward, as a means of furthering ulterior views.

(3) NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

From the year 1834 to the present time, there has been a "New England Convention" of the friends of the slave, in Boston, on the week of the religious anniversaries in May. The following resolves, passed by the successive Conventions, will show who were invited to vote and deliberate in its meetings.

In 1834, there seems to have been no particular form of invitation given.

The only clue we have on the subject, is in the fact that none but men were enrolled as members, and in the following extract from the proceedings.

"The Committee on Expenses of Convention presented the following as their report, which was accepted.

"Resolved, That the *members* of this Convention, and *other gentlemen*, disposed, be and they are hereby requested, to pay one dollar each," &c.

In 1835, the form of invitation was as follows:

"That all *delegates* from Anti-Slavery Societies, be members of this Convention, and all *persons* wishing to become so, who are in favor of the immediate and unconditional abolition of Slavery," &c.

How the terms "delegates" and "persons" were then understood, is obvious from the fact that none but gentlemen enrolled their names. No others thought of doing it, least of all of claiming the right, as members, to participate in the public debates of the Convention. At this Convention, it was voted to hold a New England A. S. Convention annually, in Boston, until slavery should be abolished throughout the land; and the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society was appointed a standing committee to make the necessary arrangements. The Convention of 1836 was, therefore, the *first* of the *regular series* of said Conventions; of course, its form of invitation to membership may be fairly considered as designating the basis of organization and action upon which it was intended these Conventions should ever be conducted. That form, as offered by N. Southard, and adopted by the Convention, was—

"Resolved. That all *gentlemen* present who wish to take part in this Convention, and who are friends of the abolition of slavery in our country, be invited to become members."

The Convention of 1837—the second of the regular series—on motion of J. E. Fuller—

"Resolved, That all *gentlemen* present, who wish to take part in the proceedings of this Convention, and are friendly to the immediate abolition of slavery, be invited to become members."

In May, 1838, however, there was a distinct and formal change, as will be seen by the resolution passed.

"On motion of *Oliver Johnson*—

"Resolved, That all persons present, or who may be present at subsequent meetings, *whether men or women*, who agree with us in sentiment on the subject of slavery, be invited to become members and participate in the proceedings of the Convention."

This was not a spontaneous movement, but evidently the result of previous concert; as is evident from the novel and careful phraseology of the resolution, and the fact that it was offered by a "woman's rights" man, and that it was received at the time, by the few initiated, with a burst of applause. Others, little suspecting that this "was to be the first public act of a mighty reform," paid no heed to it, till the proceedings of a subsequent day revealed both the meaning of the vote, and the design of its introduction. The unprecedented spectacle of a woman rising to speak, as a member of the Convention, (at the suggestion of another, a man,) and the appointment of a woman on a committee, soon after, made the trick palpable. The Convention assembled in May, 1839, took the same course *deliberately*; the question having been raised, at the opening of the first session. It should be added, that the Convention this year embraced very few from other States. Most of the delegates and friends from places out of Massachusetts, (and a large number within it,) declined enrolling their names as members of the Convention. Many that did, afterwards expressed their regret at having done so.

(4) MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The change in the composition of the meetings of the *Massachusetts A. S. Society* was not effected by means *even as* honorable and direct as this. No

change was attempted till the Annual Meeting in January, 1839, when the usual resolution of courtesy, inviting the friends of the cause to sit and act, was passed in the following words—

“On motion of Alanson St. Clair—

“Voted, That all persons present, in favor of immediate emancipation, be permitted to take seats, and participate in the proceedings of this Convention.” See 7th Ann. Rep., 1839.

Under similar resolutions, heretofore, no female had been enrolled as a member or delegate. The Committee to make up the roll, proceeded, on their own authority, to take the names of persons of both sexes as members; and no opportunity occurred to question their right so to do, till near the final adjournment of the Society, when most of those opposed to it had retired disgusted with the spirit and violence of the meeting. The MOVER of the resolve then stated that he did not intend by it to invite females to vote and deliberate, &c., as members of the meeting.

“J. H. Martyn, of Haverhill, introduced the following resolution—

“Resolved, That so much of the Annual Report as relates to the subject of woman’s rights, be struck out.

“Rejected by an immense majority.”—See 7th Ann. Rep.

No vote was allowed on the naked question of principle. But the Annual Report contained a sanction of the new sectarian dogmas. And the effort to strike out, being treated as a personal attack upon the writer of the Report, was voted down, under appeals to personal sympathies. The report argues affirmatively at some length the question of the propriety of allowing females to act in our meetings, and endeavors to heap odium upon all who adopt and act upon other views.—See pp. 32-7, 7th Ann. Rep. At the subsequent Quarterly Meeting of the Society, held in Boston, in March, a similar course was pursued, and the Society at last thoroughly identified with sectarianism.

(5) ANNUAL MEETING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, 1834.

The spirit of propagandism has been strikingly manifest in the proceedings of this party ever since the N. E. Convention in May, 1838. To sustain themselves at home, they have made active efforts, by their agents and friends, to secure the adoption of similar measures elsewhere—in some cases without success, and in others with it. To bring the question up, the Massachusetts Board appointed a number of female delegates to attend the annual meeting of the American Society in May, 1839. Their agents secured similar appointments from a few of their local auxiliaries. A member of the Society of Friends raised the question of their right to be enrolled, at the opening of the business meeting in Chatham street Chapel. In order to settle it definitely, Rev. N. Colver offered the following resolution.

“Resolved, That our roll shall be made up, according to former usage, and *men*, duly appointed, shall constitute the roll;” (that is, of delegates.)

An attempt was instantly made to evade the decision of the question.

“Oliver Johnson, of Boston, moved an amendment, substituting *persons* for *men*,” in the above resolve, leaving the question of the admission of women still a matter of construction. This was debated through the afternoon and evening, and the amendment declared to be adopted, by the chair. The vote was reconsidered the next morning, and after voting to take the yeas and nays on the question,

“Ellis Gray Loring offered the following amendment—

“Strike out all after the word Resolved, and insert—That the roll of this meeting be made by placing thereon the names of all persons, male or female, who are delegates from any auxiliary Society, or members of this Society.”

Amos A. Phelps, in order to procure a definite decision in regard to the constitutional right of females to vote, deliberate, etc., instead of a mere decision as to the enrolment of their names—

“ Moved the following amendment to the amendment, as a substitute for that of Mr. Loring. That the term ‘ person,’ as used in the 4th article of the Constitution of this Society, is to be understood as including men and women; and as entitling women to sit, speak, vote, hold office, and exercise the same rights of membership as persons of the other sex.”

After protracted debate, Mr. Phelps’ amendment was rejected, and Mr. Loring’s adopted, by a vote of 180 yeas to 140 Noes. These votes were divided among the several States as follows—

	Ayes.	Noes.		Ayes.	Noes.
Maine,	1	6	N. Y.,	45	76
N. H.,	1	5	N. J.,	9	2
Vt.,	5	4	Penn.,	21	7
Mass.,	72	45	Del.,	0	1
R. I.,	10	1	Ill.,	0	2
Ohio,	2	0			

It should be remarked, that several persons voted with the majority, on the ground of a literal construction of the Constitution, which they thought necessarily included females, while they disapproved heartily of the thing itself. The decision of the Chairman of the meeting, by which those, whose right to be enrolled was in question, were allowed to vote upon the question of their own enrolment, contributed to swell the majority. A protest against the vote, was afterwards presented, signed by 123 persons.

PROTEST.

We the undersigned, members and delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as a duty, and therefore a right, hereby protest against the principle, assumed by a majority of persons representing said Society at its present meeting, that women have the right of originating, debating, and voting on questions which come before said Society, and are eligible to its various offices:—and we protest against the assumption of said principle for the following, among other reasons, viz:

1. Because it is contrary to the expectation, design, and spirit of the Constitution of said Society, as clearly indicated by the proceedings of the framers of that instrument, at the commencement, in the progress, and at the completion of the work.

2. Because it is at variance with the construction of said instrument, as made known by the constant usage of the Society from its first to its present meeting.

3. Because it is repugnant to the wishes, the wisdom, or the moral sense of many of the early and present members of said Society, and devoted friends to the cause for which that Society was organized.

4. Because, though assumed by a majority of persons representing said Society in its present meeting, we believe it to be wide from the expression of the general sense of the abolitionists of this country, of either sex, and, if not objected to in this formal manner, might seem to be the unqualified and unlimited sanction of the friends of the slave and the asserters of his rights.

5. Because it is rather the expression of local and sectarian feelings, of recent origin, than of those broad sentiments which existed among the friends of our great enterprise at its beginning, and which led to the framing of the Society on a foundation where all sects might stand and wield the potent weapons of our warfare against the oppression of our brethren.

6. Because in conformity with these broad sentiments, and in opposition to local and party peculiarity, the American Society, at its first meeting, so far from contemplating the principle which is now for the first time assumed by the aforesaid majority, recommended the organization of distinct societies of the female sex.

7. Because, how much and how conscientiously soever we might differ in respect to the abstract question of the rights of women and the propriety of their action in large deliberative bodies, yet waiving entirely any expression here of sentiment on this subject, we are persuaded that the principle which is, at this meeting, for the first time, assumed as aforesaid, is well fitted to bring unnecessary reproach and embarrassment to the cause of the enslaved, inasmuch

as that principle is at variance with the general usage and sentiment of this and all other nations, under whatever form of government, and of every age: and while we thus speak, we also declare, that if the assumption of the aforesaid principle was, in our belief, demanded by the great law of right, and by a Divine constitution necessary to rescue this nation from the great crime and curse of slavery, we would not hesitate to assume it in defiance of universal custom and sentiment, but would do so by openly and manfully changing either the Constitution of our Society, or our organization itself.

In offering this Protest, we refrain from expressing any opinion respecting the propriety of those, whose right to the contemplated membership was contested, voting on the question of said right, as was done in the present case, preferring to leave such proceeding to the obvious conclusion of common sense.

NEW JERSEY.

Wm. R. Weeks, Newark, Thomas P. Hunt, do., Andrew M. Torbut, Paterson.

CONNECTICUT.

F. A. Perkins, Norwich, Geo. Hall, Northfield, H. G. Ludlow, N. Haven, C. P. Bush, do. Amos G. Beman, do. A. C. Luca, do. James Quintard, Norwalk, Randolph Lindsley, Meriden, Julius Pratt, do. Lewis Beers, Jr., Stratford, W. L. Wilson, Middletown.

NEW YORK CITY.

G. Ratrie Parburt, A. Libolt, La Roy Sunderland, James G. Birney, Roe Lockwood, W. S. Dorr, Joshua Bishop, Patrick Reason, Charles W. Denison, Hiram Barney, M. R. Berry, S. W. Benedict, John Jay, Thos. L. Jinnings, Robert Aikman, Jr., James Hildreth, Wm. W. Patton, Lyman W. Gilbert, Edward A. Lambert, N. E. Johnson, Albert O. Wilcox, Lewis Tappan, Thomas Downing, John W. Sleight, Robert Laird, Duncan Dunbar, Hezekiah D. Sharpe, Alfred Smith, Asa Parker, James Wallin, Darius E. Jones, Arthur C. Cox, Samuel D. Burchard, Henry H. Loomis, Geo. D. Little, Aug. J. Gillett, Anthony Lane, Wm. D. Cooledge, Geo. H. Williams, T. McNamee, Edward Corning, Henry C. Bowen, Geo. M. Tracy, O. W. Norton, Edwin Wilcox, Robert R. Kellogg, Charles Kellogg, Samuel Leeds, Jr., George Storrs, Sumner Davidson, Elisha W. Chester, F. W. Graves.

MASSACHUSETTS.

J. E. Fuller, Boston, A. A. Phelps, do. Geo. Russell, do. Alanson St. Clair, do. Geo. Allen, Shrewsbury, D. W. Alvord, Greenfield, Joseph Hurlbut, Curtisville, O. Scott, Lowell, Samuel Osgood, Springfield, Phineas Crandall, Fall River, J. A. Canfield, Andover, T. E. Turner, do. James Birney, Jr., do. Sewall Harding, Medway, Daniel Wise, Quincy, Geo. H. Smith, Salem, C. T. Torrey, do. D. Butler, Dorchester, Timothy Merritt, Lynn, Geo. Goodyear, Ashburnham, Israel Trask, Beverly.

NEW YORK.

Abm. Requa, Poughkeepsie, Hiram H. Kellogg, Clinton, Amos Savage, Utica, Edward C. Pritchett, do. E. W. True, Pittsford, Stephen Stanley, Auburn, L. C. Lockwood, N. Windsor, J. R. Wilson, Coldenham, W. E. Whiting, Brooklyn, Nath. Colver, Greenwich, Fayette Shipherd, Troy, John Low, Dutchess Co.

VERMONT.

E. D. Barber, Middlebury, J. W. Hale, Brandon.

MAINE.

Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell, Eben. Dole, Jr., do. Ichabod Coddington, do. C. C. Cone, Brunswick.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Jared Perkins, Nashua, Silas Curtis, do. W. H. Brewster, Derry.

MICHIGAN.

Warren Isham, Detroit.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Chas. W. Gardner, Philadelphia, Henry Grew, do. Samuel D. Hastings, do. Geo. M. Alsop, do.

ILLINOIS.

Geo. W. Gale, Galesburg.

RHODE ISLAND.

Hiram Brooks, Providence, John Waugh, do.

In order to procure a decision by which the evasions of Mr. Loring's resolution might be met, Mr. Phelps offered the following.

"Resolved, That in placing 'the names of all persons, male and female, who are delegates from any auxiliary Society, or members of this,' on the roll of this, or any subsequent meeting of this Society, it is not to be understood, that by the constitution and usage of this Society, women are entitled to sit, speak, vote, hold office, and exercise the same rights of membership, as persons of the other sex."

In the afternoon of the same day, (Wednesday,) this resolution was *rejected*. Thus, after many evasions, "THE party" were compelled to vote in favor of their own views. Much as we regret the action in this meeting, we believe the American A. S. Society will yet retrace its steps. The sober, considerate portion of its members do not generally sanction such measures, and the nature and bearing of the question at issue is now better understood.

(6) OTHER SOCIETIES.

In the Rhode Island, and Eastern Pennsylvania Societies, this party have carried the same measure. In the Annual Meeting of one of the County auxiliaries of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, that of Essex, the measure was carried in June, 1839, by the indirect evasive policy before noticed. How far similar results will be secured cannot be foreseen. But we believe the good sense of the community will soon put a check to these party movements. For the sake of the bleeding slave, God speed the day.

NOTE B.

POLITICAL ACTION.

The doctrines illustrative of the original views of our associations and the subsequent changes, in respect to political action, are so numerous, that it is difficult to make any selection. Each is important, as expressive of the views of some portion of the gathering host of the army of humanity. They are given, arranged under several heads, for the sake of ready reference.

ORIGINAL DOCTRINE.

This cannot be better exhibited than by quoting the constitutions, addresses, resolves, and other documents, put forth by the various societies throughout the land, together with the views of distinguished laborers in this cause. We begin with the old

(1) NEW ENGLAND A. S. SOCIETY.

This society was the first formed, and has since been merged in the Mass. A. S. Society. The second article of its Constitution is,

"The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites."

That the exercise of all the political rights enjoyed by white freemen was included among the "means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion," which the society pledged itself on all suitable occasions to use in behalf of the slave, is obvious from their also pledging themselves to endeavor to obtain all such rights for the free colored people. Could men *pledge* themselves to "obtain" for others, "political rights" which either law, humanity, or religion forbade themselves to exercise? The real meaning of this article is put beyond all doubt, by the expositions given it by its authors, as contained in the following extracts from Annual Reports of the Society.

In their First Annual Report, drafted by Mr. Garrison, and adopted and published in Jan. 1833, the Board say :—

“ So long as slaves are held in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the United States ; so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people ; so long as no efforts are made to modify or repeal the present compact, by those who have both the right and the power thus to do ; so long as the interests of non-slaveholding States are jeopardized by the twenty-five slave votes in Congress ; so long as moral influence, widely and wisely disseminated, is productive of beneficial results ; so long as public opinion is the lever of national reform ; so long as the people of New England are liable to be called upon to put down slave insurrections at the south ; so long as there is neither liberty of speech nor of the press, on the subject of oppression, in a large portion of our country ; so long as southern States deprive the colored citizens of New England, who may visit them, of their liberty and the rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States ; so long as slavery mars the harmony, divides the policy, retards the prosperity, and fearfully threatens the existence of the nation ; so long as the commands of Jesus remain binding upon all men, ‘ Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,’ ‘ Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself ;’ so long as there remains any flesh in our hearts, any physical or moral affinity between us and our enslaved brethren, any love to God or man in our souls ; *it never can be true that the people of New England are not bound to use their moral and political power to overthrow slavery in the United States.*”

In the third Report, Jan. 1835, we find the following :—

“ A large number of persons think that slavery ought to be abolished in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and that no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, without providing against the toleration of slavery within its borders. They also think that the slave-trade between the States, ought to be abolished by Congress.

Holding these opinions of the duties of the National Government, it becomes not only their right, but their DUTY, to endeavor *in every mode sanctioned by law and religion*, to procure the action of Congress on these subjects. How is this to be done ? It is answered, by diffusing information among the people, and petitioning Congress. These are, no doubt, efficacious measures. *But another, equally important, is to endeavor to send to Congress, men who think rightly on these subjects, and to oppose others.* If abolitionists, by exerting themselves to obtain a sound representation in Congress, should be subjected to the charge of being a political party, they ought not to be deterred from their duty, by an odious name. It seems an ill-judged course for moral and religious men to shrink from exercising their privileges as citizens at ELECTIONS, because others make a bad use of these privileges ; or to hesitate to unite for effecting a moral and religious purpose, merely because it is at the same time a political one.

“ But, while in *voting* for candidates to offices, in which the persons elected are likely to be called on to act on important questions in regard to slavery, it is earnestly recommended to abolitionists to support those only in whose principles they can confide ; the Managers would caution their friends against making anti-slavery opinions the test of qualification for other offices, where similar questions cannot arise.

“ *The course recommended, is the same which was pursued successfully by the abolitionists in Great Britain.*”

Who can resist the conviction, that those who wrote, and the Society which sanctioned the above extracts, believed in the rightful existence of the civil magistracy, and meant to tell all men who could vote, that DUTY called them to the ballot box to deliver the slave, whenever and wherever his cause could be affected by their efforts ? That these were the *avowed* views of the Society, even as late as August, 1838, may be seen by reference to the following extracts from an address to the abolitionists of the State, in view of the approaching

election, drawn up by Ellis Gray Loring, and sanctioned by the Board of Managers.

"There are those who disapprove of every form of political action, on the part of abolitionists. They contend that our cause should be presented exclusively under its religious and philanthropic aspect; that it will be degraded and enfeebled at the North, by connecting it with politics,—while, at the South, our political efforts will rouse a more united and determined resistance to our objects.

"We cannot yield to this reasoning. It proceeds, we think, upon a narrow view of the subject. **POLITICS, RIGHTLY CONSIDERED, IS A BRANCH OF MORALS, AND CANNOT BE DESERTED INNOCENTLY.** *Our moral convictions must follow us to the ballot-box.* They are not less imperative on us as citizens, than as members of the church, or fathers of families. In each, we have nothing to do, but to carry out our highest idea, simply and fearlessly. If the public mind is misled or vitiated on the subject of politics,—if politics has come to be considered as a game played by the desperate and unprincipled for power or emolument, it must not, therefore, be abandoned to them. The worldly and corrupt would like nothing better, than *that the good should retire, in fear or disgust, from this wide sphere of action.* It seems to be *our mission* to substitute, in the minds of men, a new set of associations with the subject of politics. It is worth noting that the abolitionists form the only great party, in our age, who, aiming at a wide social reform, *and operating on and through social institutions*, yet rest their efforts and their hopes professedly on religious ground;—on faith in God, and faith in the God-like man. That slavery is a sin against God, has been our rallying cry from the beginning; heard not merely from the pulpit, but in the courts of justice, the popular assembly, and the halls of government.

"To think of purposely keeping such a question—a question of essentially moral and religious character, but having important public bearings,—out of politics, is like the view some persons have, that religion belongs to the temple and the Sabbath, but is out of place in week-day life. This is, after all, but a question of time. The subject of slavery must, obviously, sooner or later, enter deeply, into general politics. *Slavery is itself the creature of law; that is, of political action. It can only be finally destroyed, by the same power that gave it being.*"

Had such views never been repudiated by that Society, the friends of the slave might not have been called to mourn over strifes and divisions among us, nor the slave to fear, lest his hope of freedom should die. That they have repudiated them, will be seen on reference to the next note.

(2) AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The views embodied in the Constitution and acts of the American Anti-Slavery Society are likewise to be adduced as evidence of the nature of original abolitionism.

The Convention that formed it, met in Philadelphia, December 4, 1833. In the Declaration of Sentiments, drafted by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and adopted and put forth by the Convention, the Convention say:—

"That it (this nation) is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. * * * Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to *the protection of law*—and to the common advantages of society. * * * Therefore we believe and affirm, (among other things named) 'that the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and *brought under the protection of law*; * * * that all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same *privileges*, and the exercise of the same *prerogatives*, as others.'

"We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the *people of the FREE STATES*, to remove slavery by moral and **POLITICAL ACTION**, *as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States;*' and the whole concludes with a solemn pledge, on the part of its signers, 'that, under the guidance, and by the help of Almighty God, we

will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon the earth, * * * and to secure to the colored population of the United States, ALL the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans,"—i. e. obviously, 'all' their natural and inalienable rights, as men; and then 'all' their political and social rights, as American citizens, or as members of society, and subjects of law and government."

In the Preamble to its Constitution, the Society is pledged to "do all that is lawfully in its power for the extinction of slavery." And in the 2d Art., it is declared not only that "it shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences," of the sin of holding slaves, and the duty of immediate emancipation; but there is, beside this, a specific pledge to another kind of action, viz: to "endeavor, *in a constitutional way, to influence Congress*" to abolish slavery, so far as it comes under its jurisdiction. The declaration of sentiments throws a strong light upon the meaning of these passages. If men have a 'right to the protection of law,' it is certainly the correlative duty of somebody to protect them by law, and to maintain law by the enforcement of its penal sanctions. If we are to influence Congress in the ways pointed out in the Constitution of the Union, it indicates a want of that very desirable quality,—common sense, to suppose that the employment of the elective franchise was not specially intended as the great means of doing it. Those who hold the elective franchise, are the men who must do both the one and the other. The following vote of the Society, at its recent Annual Meeting, does but reiterate its constitutional principles:

"Resolved, That this society still holds, as it has from the beginning, that the employment of the political franchises, as established by the constitution and laws of the country, so as to promote the abolition of slavery, is of high obligation—a duty, which, as abolitionists, we owe to our enslaved fellow countrymen groaning under legal oppression."

So long as that society continues to hold and promulgate such views, those who have rights to gain, or rights to maintain, will rejoice to rally around its standard.

(3) THE VIEWS OF INDIVIDUALS,

whose labors have endeared them to the lovers of freedom, illustrate the principles already advanced. We give the following extracts, as a specimen. We will first quote at length, from one, who, though not the earliest in the field, or the first to advance correct anti-slavery views, has done much to give them currency and power over the public mind. We refer to

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

"Immediate abolition does not mean that the slaves shall immediately exercise the right of suffrage, or be eligible to any office, or be emancipated from law, or be free from the benevolent restraints of guardianship. We contend for the immediate personal freedom of the slaves, for their exemption from punishment, *except where law has been violated*, for their employment and reward, as free laborers, for their exclusive right to their own bodies, and those of their own children, for their instruction and subsequent admission to ALL the trusts, offices, honors, and emoluments of intelligent freemen."—*Thoughts on Colonization*, page 80.

"Again: 'By immediate emancipation, we do not mean—

"That the slaves shall be turned loose upon the nation, to roam as vagabonds and aliens—nor

"That they shall be instantly invested with all political rights and privileges—nor

"That they shall be expelled from their native land to a foreign clime, as the price and condition of their freedom.

"But we mean—That instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible masters, they shall really receive the protection of law.

* * * * *

"That the slaves shall be employed as free laborers, fairly compensated, and protected in their earnings:

"That they shall be placed under a benevolent and disinterested supervision,

which shall *secure* to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, to accumulate wealth, and to seek an intellectual and moral mastery over their white competitors."—Prospectus to *Liberator*, vol. 3, 1833.

"Again: Immediate emancipation, among other things specified, means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease. Secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law. * * * * Fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as *felony, and entitled to the highest punishment*. * * * * Sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and *others enacted*, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination."

And among the things which it is said immediate emancipation will *do*, is the following:

"It will give *protection* to millions now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers; every man and every woman may then *find redress at law*."—1st Annual Report New England Anti-Slavery Society, 1833, pp. 17—19.

The last quotation is the testimony of the New England A. S. Society, inasmuch as they made the definition their own, by the adoption of the Report. The *conduct* of any man is, in general, a good comment upon his principles. In this view, and as an evidence of the feelings of intelligent abolitionists then, we quote at considerable length, a portion of the discussions, in the fall of 1834. At that time, Abbot Lawrence, and Amasa Walker were put in nomination to represent Boston in Congress. Mr. Lawrence was interrogated in regard to his views on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia. Commenting on his reply, Mr. Garrison, in the *Liberator* of November 8, 1834, said:

"THE ELECTION—MR. LAWRENCE'S LETTER.

"It is certainly a singular, and not very creditable fact, that the people of New England, with all their professed hostility to slavery, and their desire to see it abolished, have never interrogated those who have presented themselves for their suffrages, whether, if elected, they would endeavor to effect a speedy and complete overthrow of the foul system in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the Union. This question should be paramount over all others at every election, until the nation, *as a nation*, ceases to traffic in human flesh. * * * But this apathy is fast giving way, and very soon the all-absorbing question at the polls, will be,—'Will you vote for the immediate abolition of slavery in that portion of the country, over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction?' And upon the answer given to this question, *will hinge every Congressional election*. Fortunately, we have the *experience of the British people to guide us in this matter*. The tables of the two houses of parliament groaned for many a session, beneath the weight of petitions for the abolishment of colonial slavery; *but these petitions were unheeded, because no effort was made to send the right men* to put away that evil and bitter thing. At last the moral influence of the nation was poured through a *political medium*—and slavery received its death-blow at once. Mrs. Child, in her *Oasis*, tells us the following instructive and pithy anecdote:—

"HOW TO EFFECT EMANCIPATION.

"A venerable and excellent member of the Society of Friends, from England, speaking to the editor of the manner in which emancipation could be effected in the United States, said:—'Thou must do as we have done in England. A sculptor came among us with images, in black marble, of an African kneeling, in chains. Almost every abolitionist purchased one; and when a man came to ask us to vote for him as member of Parliament, we held up the image and asked, What hast thou done for this? If he said he had not made up his mind on that difficult question, we answered, Then, friend, *we HAVE made up our minds that we shall not vote for thee*.'"

This, Mr. Garrison calls a "good example," and accordingly, after some comments on Mr. Lawrence's letter, adds :

"We have taken no pains to ascertain how this letter is regarded by our abolition brethren generally. Doubtless some of them will, on the whole, deem it so acceptable at the present juncture, as to induce them to vote for Mr. Lawrence. As for ourselves, we shall give a decided preference to another candidate in the field, viz., AMASA WALKER, Esq., simply because he is publicly known to be a thorough-going, uncompromising abolitionist, upon whose integrity the utmost reliance may be safely placed, and who is in other respects, and for many weighty reasons, deserving of a triumphant vote. Conceding fairness of integrity and benevolence of heart to Mr. Lawrence, yet we presume he is almost a stranger to the anti-slavery controversy; and we therefore *choose to give our votes* to one who is an acknowledged abolitionist, and who has, on all great moral questions, displayed so much intrepidity as Amasa Walker.

"These remarks we make upon our *individual responsibility*, presuming that abolitionists will exercise that independence of thought, of choice, and of action, in this particular, for which they are signalized in all their movements."

The election passed. The colored people were persuaded to throw their votes generally for Mr. Lawrence. This called out a letter to them from Mr. Garrison, dated Dec. 18th, and published in the *Liberator* of Dec. 20th, 1834, and headed "Political Suggestions to the Colored Inhabitants of Boston." The following are extracts:

* * * "We do indeed need a Christian party in politics—not made up of this or that sect or denomination, but all who fear God and keep his commandments, and who sincerely desire to seek judgment and relieve the oppressed. I know it is the belief of many professedly good men, that *they ought not to meddle with politics; but they are cherishing a delusion, which, if it do not prove fatal to their own souls, may prove the destruction of their country.*

"With regard to Abbot Lawrence, I respect him as an honorable man and an enterprising merchant; but he had no claim upon you for your votes, for his letter was not at all satisfactory, nor such an one as an abolitionist would have written. Moreover, there was another candidate in the field, who was and is your friend and advocate, known openly as such—a man of moral courage and a *Christian*—AMASA WALKER. I gave him *my vote on the ground of humanity, justice, benevolence, and religion*; and I think, as you valued your own welfare, he ought to have received your votes. It is true, had you all voted for him, he would not have been elected; but your support, on that ground, would have told well for him and for you, and increased the probability of his success at another election. Besides *it is our duty to throw our votes wisely*, even if we are sure of defeat. We must try it again and again, until we succeed; for in this, *as in every good work*, we shall reap in due season, if we faint not.

"In conclusion, I will add, that I am glad, yea, proud to see that you are appreciating the *importance of exercising that elective franchise* which is secured to you by the Constitution of Massachusetts. By rallying at the polls, you show that you understand and duly estimate an *important right*, and you elevate yourselves in public estimation, if you do not suffer designing men to mislead you. In many cases, you will undoubtedly be led astray, in consequence of a want of correct information; but by consulting your tried friends, you will generally cast your votes into the right scale. When the various parties present their list of candidates, I would advise you to examine them all minutely, and from them all select such names of persons as you know or believe are most kindly disposed toward you as a people. This is not an appeal to your selfishness, *but the presentation of a DUTY* which you owe to yourselves, and to your brethren elsewhere—whether bond or free. The foregoing hints are calculated *for general application*, wherever colored men are allowed to vote, although they are written with special reference to you who reside in Boston. * * *

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

"*Boston, Dec. 18, 1834.*"

This letter, and other similar articles, induced "A Friend" to write to Mr. Garrison, expressing the hope "that no 'political suggestions' or other politics might find their way into the *Liberator* hereafter," which called forth from Mr. G.'s pen, the following notice in the *Liberator* of Dec. 27, 1844.

"TO CORRESPONDENTS.

" 'A Friend,' who hopes 'that no *political suggestions*, or other politics, may find their way into the *Liberator* hereafter,' will be surely disappointed. Hitherto, we have said little or nothing in reply to the hypocritical cant and lugubrious outcry which have been uttered by the pro-slavery party, respecting the 'political action' alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-slavery Convention; but in our next volume we shall take up this subject, and tell slave-traders, slaveholders, colonizationists, and all others, what we mean to do with our elective franchise, towards breaking up the impious system of slavery. *As that Declaration was penned by us, we presume that we are competent to give an exposition of its doctrines.* One thing we will say, in advance of our essays, that the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of the slaves in the District of Columbia and the Territories, is to be made A TEST AT THE BALLOT BOXES, in the choice of representatives to Congress; and that no man who is a slave-holder, will receive the votes of conscientious and consistent abolitionists, for any station in the gift of the people—especially for the Presidency of the United States."

This called out Mr. Tracy, of the Boston Recorder, in an article, headed "*Political Action in the Churches.*" To this, Mr. Garrison replies:

"Nobody but Mr. Tracy has ever alluded to, or contemplated and such action in the churches; and he ought to be ashamed to make such a colorful hue and cry about the discharge of a *great and solemn privilege at the ballot box.* Will he tell us whether abolitionists, or, if it will suit him better, whether those who are opposed to slavery, can *conscientiously* or *consistently* bestow their suffrages upon a slave holder, or whether they will sin in pretending a non-slaveholder, (for the honor of the country), to fill the Presidential chair? Or whether they *ought not* to 'remember those in bonds as bound with them'—*at the polls*—and send those to Congress who will abolish slavery in the District of Columbia?"

Sentiments more honorable to himself and the cause he advocates never fell from his lips, or flowed from his pen, than those we have above quoted. The extract which follows, gives us the views *then* entertained by

HENRY B. STANTON,

than whom no man has labored more ardently, or with a greater measure of success, for the last three years. We cannot well separate it from its connections. At the Annual Meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, Jan. 1847, Mr. Stanton brought forward several political resolves, in the discussion of which he remarked, among other things, "That they (the resolutions) speak of the *duties*, not of a party, but of THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, of all parties and all creeds." This called up

Mr. Hall of Boston, who approved of all these resolutions but the last. He did not rise for the purpose of finding fault, or cavilling; but he deprecated political action, at least in the present stage of the question, as it would excite much clamor, and in his opinion do much harm.

Mr. Garrison replied—He was surprised to hear that sentiment from one of the original signers of the Declaration of Anti-Slavery Sentiments, by the Convention at Philadelphia, which expressly states that we are to make use of 'moral and political action' for the removal of slavery. True, abolitionists have nothing to do with politics, as understood among politicians, with reference to the political parties of the day; but they *have something to do with politics*, so far as relates to this question. Surely, they ought not to vote for any man who will not maintain the right of petition, and go for the abolition of slavery, where Congress has the power; and this is all that the resolution affirms. Are we to be deterred from discharging our *duty* by the clamors of unprincipled and violent men?

Mr. Stanton.—There is political action in this country, on this subject, at the

present moment. We feel its oppression now. In the nature of things, there must continue to be political action. Our petitions are thrown under the table, to be swept out with the waste paper of the House, and they will continue to be. Then, the inquiry is, shall we sit quietly by, and permit the present political action to continue, (for continue it will,) or shall we introduce a system of action more in accordance with the spirit of our free institutions? Our brother says, let us avoid political action. Avoid political action? We have political as well as religious responsibilities. We might as well avoid the atmosphere and hope to live, as to dodge our political responsibilities, and to expect the favor of Heaven upon the discharge of our religious duties. In this nation, where the people rule, **EVERY MAN WHO HAS A VOTE, IS BOUND TO USE IT FOR THE PROMOTION OF POLITICAL AND MORAL RIGHT.**"

And no man took exception to this doctrine then, or pretended that in preaching and urging it in our anti-slavery meetings, we were introducing new tests and despotising over men's consciences. Every one who has heard Mr. Stanton lecture, will bear witness to his earnestness in the enforcement of these views—and to the general applause which has followed his efforts. The views of another of the earliest friends of the slave, were drawn out in reply to a paragraph from the pen of N. P. Rogers, editor of the N. H. Herald of Freedom. We refer to

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

In reference to the question, what is the doctrine of original abolitionism, on the subject of political action, Mr. Rogers remarks,

"Political action is enjoined in the Declaration of Sentiments at Philadelphia. But there, if we remember right, nothing is said, which necessarily demands any thing more of political action than petitioning Congress and other legislative bodies. That is *political action*, and probably all that was then contemplated. It was not then expected that Congress would treat the petitions and the petitioners unconstitutionally. It could not have been anticipated that Athertonism would have gone with a northern hand and 'clapped the torch to freedom's temple.'"

To this Mr. Whittier replies in the Pennsylvania Freeman.

"Our brother Rogers is mistaken. We were a member of that Philadelphia Convention—one of the three constituting the sub-committee which drew up the Declaration of Sentiments. No one at that period objected to political action in its fullest extent. Our friend Garrison told us how the abolitionists of Great Britain were carrying their principles to the ballot box as an earnest of what we should be able ere long to do in our own country. For ourselves, we never had the folly to suppose that the selfish politicians at Washington would regard at all *petitions* for the slave, unless they knew we were prepared to vindicate our principles at the ballot box;—unless they believed us ready to do all in our power, to hurl from their 'bad eminences' all who disregarded our plea for perishing humanity."

Precisely the views exhibited in Mr. Garrison's remarks above quoted, under the head of "THE ELECTION—MR. LAWRENCE'S LETTER," and they are not only coincident, but palpably correct.

Before quoting further it may be well to remark upon the delay to enforce the right exercise of the political franchise, which has been appealed to as proof that no such exercise of them was intended at the outset of our career. It is not a matter of wonder, that the duty of individual voters was not sooner urged. Political power was to be accumulated before it could be applied. Abolitionists were not bound to waste their votes when no gain to the slave or to liberty could accrue from it—and they wisely and patiently waited till they could exert a measure of political power that would be felt, amid all the din of party struggles for power and plunder. In the mean time, there was no concealment of their intentions, or of their views of duty, when circumstances should call for its discharge. Let us now summon other witnesses.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.

"The doctrine (of immediate emancipation) may be thus briefly stated. It

is the *duty* of the holders of slaves immediately to restore to them their liberty, and to extend to them the *full protection of LAW, as well as its CONTROL.*" (Other things, such as providing means of instruction, employment as free laborers, &c., are mentioned.)—Sin of Slavery, p. 40, 1833.

A. A. PHELPS.

"It (immediate emancipation) means simply, that the slaves be at once delivered from the control of arbitrary and irresponsible power, and, like other men, put *under the control of equitable LAWS, equitably administered.*"—1834, Lectures, p. 171.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

Instead of specific quotations, we content ourselves with referring to an article from his pen, in the *Emancipator*, of May 2d, 1838—in which he argues at length, that those who oppose political action are inconsistent in retaining their connection with the American A. S. Society, on the ground that political action, including voting, is as plainly an anti-slavery duty, enjoined in our Constitutions, etc., as any other measure for the overthrow of slavery.

(4) STATE SOCIETIES.

We will now add a few illustrative testimonies from State Societies. The following were passed at the Annual Meeting of the

NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY,

Held at Utica, on the 20th and 21st of Sept. 1838. We only need to say they are from the pen, and may be considered as the testimony also of WM. GOODELL, to the character of original abolitionism.

"Resolved, That American slavery, which exists only by American laws, can be abolished only by the repeal of those laws; therefore,

"Resolved, That it is a contradiction in terms, for American citizens to talk of 'breaking every yoke,' and 'delivering the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor,' without a repeal of the laws which sanction American slavery.

"Resolved, That if every slaveholder in the United States should now liberate his slaves, and yet the slave laws should remain unrepealed, the yoke of slavery, though not in *use*, for the time being, would not be *broken*, according to the divine command; there would be no *governmental testimony* against slaveholding, nor security against its introduction to-morrow, and consequently the *national and state* guilt of slavery, would remain unrepented of, and unre-moved.

"Resolved, That as the legislators of the slave States, and the people who elect them, are morally bound to break the yoke of slavery, by the repeal of the slave laws of those States,—so, in like manner, the legislators of the United States, in Congress assembled, and the people who elect them, are morally bound to repeal the slave laws of the District of Columbia, and territories, and prohibit the slave trade between the different States.

"Resolved, That as there are *no circumstances* which can justify the slaveholder in refusing to emancipate the slave, and no circumstances which can justify the southern Statesman in neglecting to break the yoke of oppression in the slave States—so there are *no circumstances* which can justify *northern freemen* in neglecting to break the yoke of oppression, in the District of Columbia, which they are constitutionally and politically able to do, *by their votes* for members of Congress, and President and Vice-President of the United States—and no circumstances which can justify them in neglecting to abolish the relics of slavery in the non-slaveholding States, *by their votes* for the legislators and executives of the same.

"Resolved, That since politics, rightly conducted, are properly a branch of morals, and that since moral action against slavery consists in the use of moral arguments to induce men to break the yoke of oppression, we are led to regard the so-called moral efforts of those who believe in the duty of exercising the right of suffrage, and who talk against slavery, but will not themselves assist to break the yoke of oppression by their votes, as being no moral action at all against slavery, but an immoral action in its favor.

"Resolved, That holding as we do these principles, we feel bound in frankness and fair-dealing, to promulgate them and our consequent purposes to the

world, not for the purpose of dictating to our fellow-citizens what *they* shall do, but for the purpose of making known what we feel bound to do *ourselves*, and what we affectionately invite our fellow-citizens to assist us in doing: therefore.

“Resolved, That by the grace of God, no motives of political expediency, of partizan interest, of personal friendship, or any other consideration, shall tempt us, under any possible circumstances, to vote for slavery through the representatives of our choice, either in the national or state legislatures: *nor will we neglect* the opportunity to record our votes *against* slavery, whenever a candidate of good moral character, and heartily in favor of immediate emancipation shall be nominated in the district of our location, irrespective of the political party to which he may belong, or of the pecuniary or partizan interests which may be supposed to be involved.”

THE VERMONT A. S. SOCIETY,

At its Annual Meeting, 20th of February 1839, adopted the following:—

“Resolved, That slaveholding, under all possible circumstances, is *sin*, and ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned; and hence every philanthropist and Christian—in short, every moral agent, is under the most solemn obligations to use all means sanctioned by *law*, humanity and religion, to effect the immediate abolition of this sinful relation.

“Resolved, That as Abolitionists, we carefully avoid all alliance with either of the political parties of the day; but *in the exercise of the elective franchise*, we will support those candidates, without regard to party distinctions, who will promote the cause of immediate emancipation; and if no such candidates are nominated by either of the political parties, *we will give our votes* for good men not on either of the regular tickets.”

The Convention which formed the

OHIO A. S. SOCIETY,

In April 1835, put forth a “Declaration of Sentiments,” which was signed, among others, by such men as Rankin, Wattles, Stanton, Crothers, Dickey, Howells, Thome, and Weld, and is therefore the testimony of these individuals on the point before us, as well as of the Convention, as a whole.

“By immediate emancipation, (say the Convention,) we do *not* mean that the slaves shall be deprived of employment: and turned loose to roam as vagabonds. We do *not* mean that they shall immediately be put in possession of *all* political privileges, any more than foreigners before naturalization, or native citizens not qualified to vote; nor that they shall be expelled from their native country as the price and condition of their freedom. But we *do* mean that, instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible masters, they shall receive *the protection of law*; that they shall be employed as free laborers, fairly compensated and *protected* in their earnings; that they shall have *secured* to them” (by the law that protects them, of course,) “the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, and to worship God according to his word.”

THE MAINE A. S. SOCIETY,

At its Annual Meeting, in Augusta, Feb. 8th, 1839, adopted the following:—

“Resolved, That it is the *imperious duty* of every abolitionist, who can conscientiously exercise the elective franchise, *to go promptly* to the polls and *deposit his vote* in favor of some man, who, if elected, will use his utmost Constitutional power for the immediate overthrow of slavery.”

The following is from the Annual Report, adopted at the same time.

“At the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the importance of promoting the cause of the slave by suitable political action, was distinctly recognized, and the subject has since to a greater or less extent, been constantly kept in view. During the past year, a new interest in it has been awakened.

“The right of suffrage is *not merely* a privilege. It is a most sacred and important *trust*, to be employed, under a solemn *sense of responsibility to God*, in the promotion of the public good. As abolitionists, we profess to believe that slavery is a most heinous sin against God and man, and in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of Society. We are *bound* therefore, to attempt

its removal not merely by moral suasion, or appeals to the conscience of the slaveholder, but also by the *right use of whatever political power we possess*.

"It is unquestionably in the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District and Florida, to put a stop to the slave trade between the States, and to refuse the admission of any new slave State into the Union. The free States possess a clear majority in Congress. These several objects will therefore be accomplished, whenever the public sentiment in the free States shall demand it, and that sentiment is properly represented in Congress. We are under *solemn obligations* therefore not only to diffuse through the community correct sentiments on the subject of slavery, but also to make all proper efforts to place in our National Legislature, men who will use the power, committed to their hands, in accordance with our views.

"The subject of political action has recently been fully discussed at the meetings of several of the County Societies, and the strong resolutions of Mr. Goodell, affirming the *duty* of political action, adopted, in the end, with great unanimity."

(5) COUNTY SOCIETIES.

Returning again homewards, we find a multitude of resolves passed by the County Societies in Massachusetts, most of which are auxiliary to the old State Society. We begin with a resolve passed by the *Middlesex County A. S. Society*, at Framingham, Oct. 17, 1833.

"Resolved, That we recommend to the voters in the several towns and districts of the State, in *no case to abstain from voting*, merely because they cannot conscientiously throw their votes for either of the regularly nominated candidates; *but to see to it that each individual cast his vote* for some true friend of the slave—otherwise his whole influence on the politics of the country is lost."

The Plymouth Co. Society, at a meeting in Hingham, Oct. 31st, 1833, adopted the following—

"Whereas, slavery is the creature of law, and can be finally and completely abolished only by law; and whereas effectual legislation on the subject can be secured only by the election of men to political offices, who will go to the extent of their constitutional powers in the case; and whereas we believe, with the Convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, that 'there are the highest obligations resting on the people of this country to abolish slavery by moral and political action,'—Therefore,

"Resolved, That no consistent abolitionist can vote for any man, of any party, to a seat in the Executive, or Legislative department of Government, who will not go to the extent of his constitutional authority in giving freedom to the enslaved."

At the Annual Meeting of the *Worcester Co. N. Division Society*, the following was adopted, with one dissenting voice, a non-government man from another county.

"Whereas slavery is the *creature of legislation*, upheld and supported by law, and is to be abolished by law, and *by law only*; and,

"Whereas, in order to secure its *legal overthrow*, the legislative bodies having power over the same, must be composed of good men and true, who will go for its immediate abolition; and,

"Whereas it is impossible to obtain such a legislative body, *unless abolitionists carry their principles to the ballot box, and vote only for men of this character*; therefore,

"Resolved, 1, That in the opinion of this Society, every abolitionist is *in duty bound*, not to content himself with merely refusing to vote for any man who is opposed to the emancipation of the slave, *BUT TO GO TO THE POLLS AND THROW HIS VOTE FOR SOME MAN KNOWN TO FAVOR IT.*"

The Bristol Co. A. S. Convention was held at Taunton, Sept. 26th, 1833. It adopted the following resolutions on the subject—

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the civil and political rights of men, as much as their moral and religious, are the gift of God, and that they are as truly bound to exercise the former as the latter for the advancement of universal liberty, and the overthrow of all oppression.

“Resolved, That among their rights and gifts, are the rights of suffrage and petition, two of the mightiest engines against tyranny and oppression, in all their forms, and that they cannot be missapplied, but with the displeasure of Almighty God.

“Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the abolitionists of every town in this county, to see to it immediately, that every candidate for their suffrage be questioned as to his views on slavery and emancipation, and that they steadfastly refuse to vote for any man who does not answer in such a manner that they can trust in his action on the subject as a legislator, and as steadfastly vote for those who do so answer.”

The Bristol Co. A. S. Society held its annual meeting at Assonet, on the 30th of October following, when the same resolutions were referred to the Society, and “after much discussion, unanimously adopted.”

The Barnstable Co. Society adopted the following, April 4, 1839.

“Resolved, That the lamentable state of political corruption in our nation, is chiefly owing to a ‘delusion’ cherished by ‘some professedly good men,’ that they ought not to meddle with politics. They have forsaken the polls, and abandoned the power and rights of the ballot box to the control and influence of political jockeys and gamblers, who have not hesitated to throw any stake which bids fair to elevate them to office. Hence the recent speech of Mr. Clay on anti-abolition petitions. Hence the threat of Mr. Van Buren to uphold slavery in the District of Columbia with his veto power. Hence the recent attempt to father Texas upon this Union, with perpetual slavery in its Constitution. Hence the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, to furnish new territory for slavery, and prevent the escape of fugitives from the Southern prison house of innocence and freedom. None of these dark deeds could have been perpetrated without the treachery of Northern Representatives—inasmuch as the free states have always had a majority in Congress; nor would any of these men have dared to perpetrate these deeds of treason to liberty, had good men, who feared God, and kept his commandments, gone to the polls and done their duty.

“Whereas, slavery is itself the creature of law, i. e. political action, and can only be destroyed by the same power that gave it being; therefore,

“Resolved, That any man to whom, by the providence of God, is committed the important and sacred right of using the elective franchise, who does not steadfastly, firmly, and perseveringly refuse to give his vote to any candidate for Representative to Congress, or for any other station in the gift of the people—especially for the Presidency of the United States—who is not a faithful, true, and known friend of universal and immediate emancipation—is not true to the precious interests of humanity; he connives at the perpetuity of the foul system; slips the cable of the noble ship Abolition, and sends her adrift upon a wide and shoreless ocean.”

(6) POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

A kind of testimony, still more decisive, is furnished by the resolves of political anti-slavery conventions; at which the whole subject was fully discussed, and such resolutions as the following passed with great unanimity.

The Young Men's State Convention, at Worcester, Oct. 2, 1838, adopted the following resolutions.

“Resolved, That slavery in this country, existing as it does by virtue of law, can be legally abolished only by the enactment or by the repeal of law.

“Resolved, That the emancipation of slavery by individual slaveholders, though it should be universal, would not be a repeal of the slave laws—would not furnish a safeguard against future enslavement—would not *break* but only *lay aside*, for the time being, the yoke of oppression—would not involve a public, social renunciation of slaveholding; and hence, without political action against slavery, there can be no national repentance and amendment, in relation to that great national crime.

“Resolved, That the people of the United States, and their representatives in Congress, are morally bound to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and national territories, and prohibit the inter state slave trade; and that for

the neglect of this duty, they are as really guilty as the people of the slave States, and their representatives in the State Legislatures, who refuse to abolish the slave laws of those States.

“Resolved, That as there are *no circumstances* which can justify *SOUTHERN* freemen and statesmen, in neglecting to vote against slavery in those sections of the country where *they* hold the political power; so there are *no circumstances* which can justify *NORTHERN* freemen and statesmen in the same neglect to vote against the slavery over which *they* possess political power.

“Resolved, That holding, as we do, these principles, we feel bound, in frankness and fair dealing, to promulgate them, and our consequent purposes, to the world—not for the purpose of dictating to our fellow-citizens what *they* shall do, but for the purpose of making known what we feel bound to do *ourselves*, and what we affectionately invite our fellow-citizens to assist us in doing.”

The Essex County A. S. Convention adopted the following, October 24th, 1838.

“Whereas, we, as the subjects of the government of God, are accountable to Him for the use or abuse of our political rights; and,

“Whereas, slavery is sustained by legislation; and

“Whereas the pro-slavery legislation of this country can never be changed until suitable men are elevated to political offices; and,

“Whereas no man, who will not speak and vote in favor of the inalienable rights of men, irrespective of color, is entitled to the suffrages of true hearted abolitionists; therefore,

“Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to vote for no man of any political party for any office in the Executive or Legislative departments of our State and national governments, who is not ready to speak and act in favor of immediate emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the immediate abolition of the slave trade between the States; and,

“Whereas, we believe, with the Declaration of Sentiments of the Convention which formed the American A. S. Society in 1833, that ‘there are the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by *moral and political action*;

“Resolved, That a Committee of six be appointed by this Convention, whose duty it shall be to question the several candidates for Congress and the State Senate, in the county, and publish their answers forthwith.”

The Norfolk County Convention, at Dedham, November 6, 1838, passed the following.

“Whereas, slavery as it exists in this country, is at war with the rights of God and man, destructive to the rights of the free as well as the slave, and dangerous to the safety and welfare of the whole people; and whereas, it is the *creature of law, and must be annihilated by law*; therefore,

“1. Resolved, That, as citizens and friends of the slave, we regard it as our *solemn duty to exercise our political* as well as our *moral* influence for the complete and utter overthrow of the whole system.

“2. Resolved, That, as consistent abolitionists, we cannot vote for any man of any party, for a seat in Congress, who is not in favor of going to the extent of his constitutional authority for the immediate and complete extinction of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and Territory of Florida.”

The Middlesex County Convention passed the following, October 30, 1838.

“Whereas, slavery is the creature of law, and can be effectually and finally abolished only by law; and whereas such legislation can be secured only by the election of such men to political offices as will use all their constitutional power for this end; therefore,

“1. Resolved, That no consistent abolitionist can vote for any man for any office in the Executive or Legislative departments of the national government, who will not go to the utmost verge of his constitutional authority for the immediate overthrow of slavery and the slave trade.

"3. Resolved, That this Convention recommend the immediate circulation in the several towns, of the following pledge:—

"We, the undersigned, deeming it a solemn duty to exercise the elective franchise so as most effectually to promote the cause of human freedom, do hereby agree that we will not vote, at the ensuing election, for any man of any party, for a seat in the national or State legislature, who will not vote and act for the immediate overthrow of slavery," &c.

At a second meeting in the same county, pending the contested election, Dec. 11th, the following were passed.

"Resolved, That we will not content ourselves with simply staying away from the polls, and neglecting to vote for the candidates in question, but, Providence permitting, will be at the polls without fail, and vote *for* some one who is true to the slave—deeply sensible that it is quite as important, and as *much our duty*, to be at our post, and vote *for* a good and true man, as it is to *decline* voting for one who is not; and that we earnestly recommend to all abolitionists in the District to do the same.

"Resolved, That the more effectually to secure this object, it be recommended to the abolitionists in each town, to appoint a committee of one, two, or three, as the case may require, whose duty it shall be to see that every abolitionist in the town is at the polls, that he may there vote for the slave."

These documents, we think, make it clear, that the doctrine of abolition from the beginning has been, that men are bound, in **DUTY**, to exercise the elective franchise for the slave, whenever and wherever he can be benefitted thereby; and that the abolitionism which gives up this doctrine, and fails to urge this measure as a matter of duty, widely departs from the original and fundamental principles of our associations.

NOTE C.

DEPARTURE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The history of the departure of the Massachusetts Society from the principles of genuine abolitionism on this subject, is a short one. A portion of its influential members having adopted other views, were naturally enough averse to having the Society continue to reiterate, what they had themselves 'repudiated' as erroneous in religion and morals.* Hence their efforts to identify the Society's influence with their own views; efforts, which through various artifices, unhappily succeeded.

To satisfy the scruples of some, a reserve was made, in the resolution offered at the annual meeting in January last, which was of itself a proof of the prevalence of the new and sectarian views on the subject. It was as follows.

"Resolved, That it is the imperious duty of every abolitionist, *who can conscientiously* exercise the elective franchise, to go promptly to the polls and deposite his vote in favor of some man, who, if elected, will use his utmost constitutional power for the immediate overthrow of slavery."

But even this would not satisfy, and on motion of Mr. Garrison, the following was adopted in its stead.

"Resolved, That those abolitionists, who feel themselves called upon, by a sense of duty, to go to the polls, and yet purposely absent themselves from the polls whenever an opportunity is presented to vote for a friend of the slave—or who, when there, follow their party predilections to the abandonment of their abolition principles—are recreant to their high professions, and unworthy of the name they assume."

* Their doctrine is—"As *every* human government is upheld by physical strength, * * * * we therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and *repudiate all human politics*, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature, or on the bench, neither can we *elect* others to act as our substitutes, in any such capacity."—*Declaration of Sentiments of the Non-Resistance Convention, Sept. 18, 1838.*

Let us try to translate this into plain English—into *common sense* it will not come.

“We are very far from saying that it is your duty, or even right for you if you think it so, to go to the polls and give your countenance to a human government; but if you *will* go at other times, your abolitionism is violated if you *purposely* absent yourselves when work is to be done for the slave. If you are indifferent about politics, you may stay away by accident. We object to nothing but “purposely,” excepting the slave from the benefit of your suffrage provided you *must* give it.”

Compare this with any one of the resolves before quoted, and say, if here is not a suppression of impartial truth, at the bidding of sect—say if there is not too much evidence that the ‘glory’ of true integrity did indeed depart, when it was adopted. The subjoined extract from the Annual Report adopted at the same meeting, is in keeping with the resolve above quoted, and with the general tone of the Report, and the speeches made in favor of its adoption.

“If any attempt be made, directly or indirectly, (as is strenuously advised by certain abolitionists,) to declare that it is the duty of all abolitionists to go to the ballot-box, then it follows that those who think otherwise must be treated as recreant to duty. The Board deny that it is competent for any anti-slavery society, by its votes or through its organ, to arraign either the political or religious views of its members. *It may with no more propriety decide, that one man is morally bound to cast a vote at the polls, than that another man is morally bound to unite himself to the church.* On this subject, there are many conflicting but honest opinions entertained by abolitionists. All that a society or its organ may rightfully do, is to *entreat* its members to *abide by their principles*, [good or bad?] *whether in the church or out of it, at the polls or elsewhere; to vote for no man, who is not in favor of immediate emancipation; to listen to no preacher, who apologises for slavery.*”

This is saying, in almost so many words, that every A. S. Society is of course a no-human-government society. For even such a society may “entreat” men to obey the voice of conscience—to act in consistency with “their principles.” But this in thousands of instances would be bidding men to sin. Are not many slaveholders professedly conscientious in holding slaves. Are they “entreated” to abide by their principles, whether in the church or out of it? The voice of God’s truth is, See that you have a *good* conscience and *right* principles, and then obey them. Excuse not wrong doing with the plea of conscience or consistency. If it be a duty to go to the polls, for the redemption of the slave, *say so*. If it be not, then warn every man against it, with a voice of thunder. Considered in this, which we are persuaded is the true view of the subject, the resolve alluded to is thorough non-governmentism; and its adoption, under the circumstances, was to all practical purposes, the adoption of non-governmentism by the society. A resolution is presented affirming the old anti-slavery doctrine, that the use of the elective franchise for the slave is duty. Non-governmentism opposes it and offers a substitute. The society yields, refuses to affirm its doctrine of duty and adopts the non-government one of consistency. What, under such circumstances, is refusal to affirm, but denial of the doctrine? What, but a “repudiation of human politics” in the case, and a shaping of abolition in conformity with that model? What but the adoption of a non-political, non-government abolition?

The attempt to secure the passage of a similar resolution at the quarterly meeting of the Essex Co. A. S. Society in Wenham, March 14th, 1839, was defeated, by a tie vote, after a long discussion, the agents of the state society strenuously advocating the measure.

The following resolve was presented, and the amendment which follows it proposed.

“Resolved, that any man, who, at this fearful crisis, (provided he can conscientiously exercise the elective franchise) will either stay away from the ballot-box, or throw a vote for any person not in favor of the immediate abolition of this giant enemy of the human race, grossly neglects an imperious duty and takes sides with the slaveholders.”


Amendment. "That any man who *deems* it his duty to exercise his elective franchise, and at this fearful crisis refuses to carry his abolition to the ballot-box, is recreant to his principles and in effect takes sides with the slaveholder."

At the late annual meeting of this same society, it was assimilated in that respect, and likewise in respect to the "woman question," to the State Society.

A minor auxiliary of that society, in West Gloucester, passed the following, April 4th, 1839. It is sufficient to say that it is composed chiefly of those who "repudiate all human politics."

"Resolved, that we view with alarm the doctrine advanced by some, that it is a Christian duty to go to the polls and vote. We think those principles, carried out, would oblige us to equip ourselves and go to the South and fight until slavery should be abolished.

"Resolved, That we view with regret the spirit manifested by some of our brethren, and hope they will in future content themselves to leave matters of conscience to an unerring power, lest they be found fighting against God."

At the annual meeting of the American Society, the passage of the resolve, affirming the duty (see Note B.) of political action, was resisted, by the officers and agents of the Mass. A. S. Society, with scarcely an exception; and a non-government resolution urged in its stead. This was cut off by the previous question, and that which reasserted the old abolition doctrine passed—a majority of the votes thrown against it were from this state. Since the meeting in New York, the Board of Managers of the state society have issued an address to the abolitionists of the state on this subject. The object of it would seem to be to retrace their steps, or at least to deny having lent their sanction as a society or board to the non-government theories. To prove this, they quote from their Address on Political Action issued in August, 1838; and then say "these passages [for which see Note B] continue to express the views of a great majority of the Board;" and in regard to the society, they "doubt whether one hundredth part of its members entertain" the non-government views. This at first sight looks well. A careful examination of it, however, will present us with a very different result. In August, 1838, the question before the public generally, and the abolition public in particular, was, what is *anti-slavery doctrine* on the subject of political action? It was not, what is the doctrine of this individual, or that individual, or of any number of individuals, but what is the *abolition doctrine*? What is the doctrine of the society as such? The Board of Managers of the Mass. A. S. Society stepped forth to answer the question. This they did, not as expositors of their views as individuals, or of the views of others as individuals, but as a Board of Managers, the organ of the society, the expositors of its doctrines, the interpreter of its constitution. And their answer went forth to the public, and was received by the public, as an official exposition of *anti-slavery doctrine, as such*. They spoke and were understood to speak, not for themselves but for the society, and as the official interpreters of *acknowledged and constitutional abolitionism*. Such was their position then. But now, alas, they speak for individuals only. True, a majority of their number hold the same views of the duty of voting they did then, but  "they consider it rather a duty growing out of OUR GENERAL OBLIGATIONS AS MEN, than as enjoined in our anti-slavery constitution." They no longer hold these views then as abolitionists; nor do they urge them as any part of abolition. They may or may not do it as individuals, but the society, as such, and they as its organ, have no doctrine on the subject. Such is their present position. What then is this, their last public official act, but an official abandonment of anti-slavery doctrine on the subject, and an official shaping of abolition to the model of non-governmentism?

Is then the old pioneer society fallen? Fallen it is indeed, but we would hope it may rise again, and be clothed with strength, to plead for justice and judgment in behalf of the bondman. At present, it has thrown away its principles, and with them, the staff of its power.

NOTE D.**CIVIL GOVERNMENT.**

It was intended to add some testimony to show how uniformly our societies, and prominent men had gone upon the assumption of the rightful existence of civil government. But the mass of documents already given will be evidence enough. We will only remark that emancipation has always been defined, by prominent anti-slavery writers, (by Garrison, Smith, Goodell, Phelps, Wright, Weld, Whittier, May, Follen, &c.) as consisting, not in freedom from law, but in the equal subjection of all men, of every color, to its wholesome restraints: as if such restraints were of course righteous in their nature, and of binding authority.

NOTE E.**SECTARIANISM.**

The charge of sectarianism has not been made without reflection. Let the case be put very simply. Two men desire to unite in the promotion of a given object. They agree in reference to the principles and measures involved in it. They disagree on other topics. If *either* party insist upon introducing or asking sanction for his views on the topics of difference, *he is a sectarian*. This our brethren have done, in regard to the "woman's rights" and "no-government" views. We agreed on anti-slavery. We did not agree on the other topics. We united to promote anti-slavery, and nothing else. They insisted upon a sanction (1) of their views on women's rights, and then (2) on the subject of political action. They obtained their wishes, in spite of our private and public remonstrances and exertions. They have made their association a sectarian thing, and because we were not sectarian, we withdrew from it. Be it, that they were conscientious in their conduct. So were we, and had they refrained from urging upon us their sectarian "after-thoughts," the consciences of all would have been respected, and what is all important to our cause, the abolitionism of Massachusetts would have maintained its unspotted, unsuspected purity. God speed the day when it shall regain it.





